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DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AMONG LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

A sociolinguistic investigation of the Tamil communities in Bangalore

JENNIFER MARIE BAYER

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
MYSORE-570 006

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[A Sociolinguistic Study of the Tamil Communities in Bangalore]

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FOREWORD

Language maintenance and loss are not only barometers of social transformation, modernization and urbanization, but are also indicators of shift in interactional isoglosses, and thus an important factor in the study of group dynamics. In the India of the past there was tremendous internal migration of people resulting in a language mix. As respect for the different was accepted as a core value of the culture, different languages maintained themselves even under adverse circumstances.

The census shows changing ethnicity in the case of settler Bengalis in Assam declaring sometimes Assamese and sometimes Bengali, the Wagdi speakers in Punjab declaring sometimes Punjabi sometimes Hindi, the Sindhi speakers in different parts declaring sometimes Sindhi and sometimes Hindi as their mother tongue. One also finds split ethnicity in the Khond tribe speaking five Dravidian languages - Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda and Indi-awe, and the Gadbas speaking Gutob (Munda) and Ollari (Dravidian) languages. Thus one ethnic group speaking many languages and one language spoken by many ethnic groups was considered natural. In the modernization process under the pressure of mono-model developmental strategies, minority languages and cultures come under increasing strain to assimilate themselves with the majority. The pluralism-assimilation, and the language maintenance - language death have thus formed an important dimension of study of the dynamics of pluralism.

Urbanization in India has a distinct flavour. The intrusion of the village into metropolitan cities and the industrialization resulting in changing demography which in turn makes them represent miniature India in its linguistic and cultural essence, are some of the aspects of this flavour. The challenge to the ideal-typical city as evidenced in the study of push and pull factors, the changing interactional modes and consequent tensions offer an excellent field of Social Science Research in these cities.

The CIIL has undertaken a number of inter-disciplinary research programmes in Bangalore City with a view to gaining insight into the dynamics of communication in a multi-ethnic, multilingual Indian metropolis. The present study encompassing investigation into language use and language attitude by an important minority community is a distinct contribution to the field of Indian Sociolinguistics.

It is often contended that existence of many languages lead to fissiparous movements. It is not true. It is the refusal to recognise the identity of smaller languages that hardens attitudes and leads to identity assertion movements. This study, coming at a time when the majority assertion came in the form of the Gokak Movement took place, has implications which should be seriously considered by language planners.

I am aware of the limitations of the study. However, if it is accepted by scholars as a generator of further ideas, then our effort would have been rewarded.

I congratulate the researcher and all those responsible for bringing out this study in record time.

D. P. PATTANAYAK

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Jennifer Bayer

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1. INTRODUCTION

India is one of the world's oldest multilingual societies, which is made more complex due to ethnic, socio-political, economic and religious diversity. It is a composite of tribals, settlers, nomads, refugees, minorities and different types of majority groups. The peoples of India belong to four language families: the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic. According to Acharya Hemalatha (1969) in pre-colonial times mobility of peoples from one cultural region to another was mainly to pilgrim centres and that "Piligrims hardly had any contact with local inhabitants, their food, dress habits and customs differed and thus people had no social base to interact". In other words, according to this view, social groups lived under minimal interaction and maximum isolation. However, like many generalisations about ancient India, this is a half truth. Conquests, wars, natural calamities like floods, famines and pestilence has been cause of internal migration from very ancient times. The interaction among the mobile population must be one of the reasons of linguistic and cultural convergence in India as much as the use of Sanskrit among the elite. In modern technological societies, circumstances, necessitate larger extensive group interaction at various levels of behaviour. India is no exception to this. Language, the main instrument in human interaction, which enables communication and cooperation, also enables people to assert their identity, maintain and internalise their respective norms and patterns of behaviour, and thus marks group separateness.

With the formation of states based on linguistic dominance in 1956, each state so formed has within its boundaries sizeable numbers of groups whose language is not the state language. These include speakers of tribal languages and also speakers whose language is the state language in other states. For example, Bengali in Assam or Delhi, Telugu and Tamil in Karnataka. Such groups are generally known as linguistic minorities. In modern times, urbanisation led linguistic minorities in India to concentrate in urban centres though rural concentrations for agriculture is not unknown. The main attraction for urban concentration is education, and employment in educational, commercial, Government and industrial set-ups. Once they left their villages, their living in the statellite rural areas also becomes a significant reality. Most urban centres in India such as Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Bombay are composed of several linguistic minorities. Their condition clearly reveals that socio-economic and political processes of modernization in a multilingual and multiethnic setting, which provide incentives and opportunities for mobility, and create conditions for increasing internal migration (Weiner, 1978), provide for conditions of language maintenance, etc. The various immigrant groups who maintain their group solidarity among other things through the use of their languages, set themselves off from other groups either through a bilingual fringe or through the development of a dialect looking equally familiar to two neighbouring communities. These communities exhibit language maintenance, language shift, language loss and over periods of time even pidginisation. The studies relating to maintenance and shift of language of linguistic minorities in India are Dua (1979), Pandit (1972), Mukherji (1980), Sachadeva (1980) and Ranjit Singh (1980), Satyanath (1983), Mohan (1984) and Bayer (1980). These works mainly study what Pride (1971) calls 'recurrent domains' such as 'the family', 'the neighbourhood', 'Governmental administration' and 'occupation'. The overall pattern of description of these studies is that of 'dominance configuration' (Weinreich 1953) of a speech community. While most studies on linguistic minorities in India indicate strong propensities towards language maintenance, there are also indications of acculturation leading to convergence, and at times tendencies of ambivalence.

The Tamil speakers are one of the majority language speakers in India who form linguistic minorities in rural areas of neighbouring states, urban centres in India, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Bangalore and abroad such as Malaysia, Singapore, Mauritius, etc. The general hypothesis is that they are more ethnocentric than many and will therefore be more loyal to their language than members of other linguistic groups. The present study on the Tamil speakers in Bangalore, examines this hypothesis.

1.1. Aim of the Study

The aim of the present research is to explore processes of language maintenance and language shift of a minority language group in an urban metropolitan and industralized city, Bangalore.

This is part of a series of inter-related studies conducted in Bangalore, the main foci of all these studies, being to abstract general linguistic behaviour of minority languages, their speakers and their interaction with other language groups, both dominant and minority languages. The study is a summation of the extent to which Tamil, as mother tongue, dominates the language behaviour of its speakers in normal day-to-day life in a dominant Kannada speaking environment. Such a study will throw light on the present status of Tamil: whether its speakers, after an extended period of stay in Bangalore indicate processes of acculturation, assimilation, or maintain a separate identity.

The other aim of the study is to gain insight into attitude of people of other linguistic group/groups in the environment.

(a) Where language movements heightens mass consciousness, and

(b) Where language and identity are not merely intellectual pursuits, but are part of day-to-day transactional behaviour of the people.

Note that this study does not delve into the structure of the Tamil language, but is more concerned with the extent of maintenance or shift of the Tamil language, as indicated by reported use in different domains.

Three factors are crucial in this study. One factor is that members of the group under study are not geographically isolated from the mainland like the Tamils in Singapore or Malaysia but rather are in geographical proximity to it. Secondly, the constant flow of migrants to Bangalore provides reinforcement to the culture. Thirdly, these immigrants maintain cultural ties with the mainland through constant visits and staying with relatives and friends in parts of Tamil Nadu, and have relatives and friends visiting Bangalore stay with them.

Dubois, who lived in India and wrote the classic book on Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies (Dubois, 1906) said that 'of all the provinces that I lived in, the Dravidian, or Tamil, country is the one where the ramifications of caste appeared to me most numerous'. Taking a clue from this observation the study on the Tamils in Bangalore is based on the assumption that caste as a category will indicate differentiation in language behaviour. Out of several caste groups that exist in Bangalore such as,

Brahmin

a) Iyengars
b) Iyers
c) Sanketis

Non-Brahmin

d) Pillais
e) Mudaliars
f) Padeyachis

Others

g) Christians
h) Muslims

this study is restricted to one Brahmin: Iyengars, one non-Brahmin: Mudaliars and one non-Hindu group: Christians.

It is feasible, in a metropolitan city like Bangalore, where industrialisation brings together various linguistic groups, to hypothesise that

i) Caste and language will indicate processes of language retention and shift,

ii) The Tamils will have acquired the language of the neighbourhood, that is Kannada, and

iii) The communities in the neighbourhood of the Tamils will have acquired Tamil.

1.2. Language Movements

When minority groups are under pressure from the majority, it results in identity assertion of the minorities in response to the dominance by the majority. The Kannada movement, popularly known as the Gokak Movement, has presently resulted in conditions leading to language and identity assertion by the minority groups. One controversy in the language movement following the submission of the Gokak Report concerns the status of Kannada vis-a-vis the status of the language of the minorities. This problem has had its effects on the Iyengars and the Mudaliars. In so far as the Tamil Christians are concerned, besides being affected by the above problem, they are also deeply affected by another major controversy prevailing in Bangalore over the relative importance of Tamil and Kannada as languages of worship in the Catholic Church.

In several Parishes, the Christians in Bangalore are predominantly Tamil speakers. So in such parishes, where the people are mainly Tamil speakers, the Tamil language is used in most Church services. This follows the change in practice, where at one time Latin was used, but the Vatican decided that the language of the Church shall be the language of the congregation. As a result of the Gokak Report the Kannada speaking Christians feel that since the Tamils are in Karnataka they should acquire literacy skills in Kannada and that the Church service should be through the Kannada language. Hence, the Kannada language should have precedence over Tamil. The controversy is still a burning issue. The appointment of the Archbishop and Bishops are linked up with the language issue and there is a demand to appoint Kannadigas to these positions.

These currents and cross-currents were noticed to be directly relevant to the hypotheses of the present study.

1.3. Historical Background

The existence of the Tamils in Bangalore, or, for that matter, other linguistic groups such as the Malayalam and Telugu speakers has historical antecedence. Bangalore and present day Karnataka had been under the rule of several ruling families. The Pallavas ruled over parts of Karnataka several decades before the advent of the Kadambas and the Gangas. The Cholas ruled parts of Karnataka, and built Chola temples in Domlur, Ulsoor, Malur. Several agraharas are reminicent of Chola rule. 'Later, the Hoysalas captured parts of Tamil Nadu ... and they left behind scores of Kannada inscriptions in Tamil Nadu ... This long association has naturally brought about a lot of 'give and take' in many aspects of life and culture of the two states' (Karnataka State Gazetteer, Part II, 1983). The interaction between Tamil and Kannada language and literature is well attested and documented 'Kannada is closely related to Tamil. They alone have a regular feminine gender. The various suffixes of the plural, of rational and irrational nouns are essentially the same in both and they are more consistently distinguished than in most other connected forms of speech. Both languages agree in the principle for the formation of the oblique base. There are also a few points of difference between the two languages'. As has been stated in the Gazetteer, Ramanuja (1017-1137) who was born in Tamil Nadu came to Karnataka towards the beginning of the 12th century. He is believed to have succeeded in coverting Hoysala Vishnuvardhana to Srivaishanava religion and he stayed for many years in Karnataka. This religion and its literature made a clear impact on Kannada literature (p.429, Vol.I).

The intimate relationship between Kannada and Tamil through religious conversions is also corroborated by Ramanujan, A.K. (1981). Ramanujan, discussing the tradition of the ā̲lvars, the saint poets devoted to Viṣṇu, refers to the role of Saint-poets including Ramanuja in inspiring and converting people. Ramanujan says, "The saint-poets wandered all over the Tamil countryside, inspiring and converting kings, Brahmins and peasants, affirming in poetry the holiness of hundreds of Tamil places dedicated to Viṣṇu or Śīva. Their pilgrimages, their legends and their hymns (which they sang by the thousand) literally mapped a sacred geography of the Tamil regions and fashioned a communal self-image that cut across class and caste". "Through them and through Ramanuja (11th - 12th century) a non-Sanskritic, non-Brahminical religious literature (Namm ā̲lvar was a sūdra saint) became central to Brahmin orthodoxy". It is thus possible to construe that the Iyengars are basically Kannada speakers. And that due to conversion, as illustrated above, their language coalesced with Tamil.

During the fieldwork in Bangalore among the Iyengars one among them narrated a historical incident, which according to him, explains the extent of Kannada influence in the Tamil they speak. He said that in the second century Chandragupta Maurya was converted to Jainism. In the 11th/12th century King Bitideva of Belur had a beautiful daughter who unfortunately was afflicted by an incurable disease. During this time Sri Ramanuja was excommunicated from Tamilnad and went to Belur. During his stay he cured the King's daughter. To show respect and regard to Sri Ramanuja the King accepted Sri Vaishnavism and also adopted Tamil. The trend during these times was that the subjects follow the footsteps of their King. So all Jains in Belur converted themselves to Sri Vaishnavism and adopted Tamil as their language.

The Jains at that time spoke Kannada and scholars like Pampa and Ranna contributed to the development of Kannada.

The movement to deliberately develop and retain the purity of Tamil bereft of Sanskrit influence had its effects on the development of Kannada. In discussing this issue the Gazetteer says (p.993, Vol.II) "The love of the Tamil poets for their own language, their enthusiasm for pure Tamil expressions and their deliberate effort not to borrow from Samskrit to the possible extent made them use and retain a good number of their original Tamil idioms in currency ... This attitude is reflected in the writings of the Srivaishnava Kannada poets too at Chikkadevaraya's court ... They have made use of chaste Kannada despite the fact they were well versed in Samskrita". According to the history of Bangalore (Gazetteer, Vol.II), Bangalore was capital of Princely Mysore from 1831. In 1799, after the death of Tippu, Bangalore was restored to the Mysore royal family. In 1809 some British troops were stationed at Ulsoor (Ulsoor still exists in Bangalore where there is a famous lake in the area known as the 'Ulsoor lake') as a prelude to permanent Cantonment. Consequently the area began to grow rapidly and popularly named as Dandu. Its authority was formally assigned to the British Government by the Mysore King, which became a Municipality later ... Though the State Administration was handed over to Mysore royal family in 1881, the British continued their rule in Cantonment until 1947. Bangalore Municipality was constituted in 1862. Both the Cantonment Municipality and Bangalore Municipality were merged in 1949 to form the Bangalore Municipal Corporation.

The Iyengars report that they are sub-categorised as Hebbar Iyengars, Mandyam Iyengars and several other groups. Further details about these categories was not collected as it was not found relevant to the study. They have lived and still live in rural Karnataka, in places like Hassan, Melkote, Kollegal, etc. The Mudaliars and Christians however report being residents of Bangalore. Within Bangalore a majority of the Iyengars live outside the Cantonment area, the Mudaliars and Christians live within the Cantonment area.

As stated above the Cantonment was under the British till 1947, and until 1956, part of Bangalore including the Cantonment was part of the Madras Presidency. This dichotomy of Cantonment and non-Cantonment residential entities has some bearing on the language behaviour of the Tamil majority of the Cantonment and the language behaviour of the three groups, namely, the Brahmins, non-Brahmins and non-Hindu communities. The Iyengars are non-Cantonment residents and therefore are acculturated to Kannada more than the Mudaliars and Christians who are Cantonment residents.

1.4. Demographic Information

The following table (extracted from Gazetteer, Part I, 1983) gives the figures of Tamil speakers in Karnataka and in India. It also gives figures of the dominant language of Karnataka, namely, Kannada, and other minority languages which are significant in number.

Language	Karnataka		India	
	No. of speakers	Percentage of total population	No. of speakers	Percentage of total population
Tamil ...	9,90,409	3.38	37,690,020	6.88
Telugu ...	2,397,557	8.18	44,752,926	8.17
Urdu ...	2,636,688	9.00	28,607,874	5.22
Kannada ...	19,328,270	65.97	21,707,918	3.96

From the above table it may be seen that 3.38% of the total population in Karnataka are Tamil speakers.

The table given below shows that 50% of the total Tamil speakers live in Bangalore. The Gazetteer indicates that speakers of minority languages are not uniformally distributed all over the state. Some are concentrated in certain areas only.

Mother tongue		District	Percentage to the total speakers of the language in the state
Tamil	...	Bangalore	50
Telugu	...	Bangalore, Kolar.	57
Urdu	...	Bangalore, Gulbarga, Dharward, Bijapur.	44

In other words 50% of Tamil speakers in Karnataka live in the urban areas. It was therefore considered that the study of Tamil in Bangalore would provide insights into the processes of language maintenance/shift in an urban multilingual situation.

1.5. Bilingualism

The following table indicates the distribution of population among major mother tongue speakers in the state who speak three subsidiary languages in descending order of frequency, as of 1971.

Mother tongue	Three subsidiary languages			Total number speaking all subsidiary languages
Kannada 1,93,28,590	English 85,600	Telugu 6,81,245	Hindi 2,65,215	22,62,430
Urdu 26,36,688	Kannada 10,40,495	English 74,155	Telugu 64,295	12,92,590
Telugu 23,97,557	Kannada 10,98,790	English 46,795	Tamil 33,790	12,01,185
Tamil 9,90,409	Kannada 3,39,063	English 97,524	Konkani 1,735	5,01,455

Note that Tamil speakers are predominantly bilingual in Kannada. Similarly, Urdu and Telugu speakers are also predominantly bilingual in Kannada. However, the Kannada speakers do not show any preference for either Tamil or Urdu for bilingualism. It is possible because of the unidirectional nature of bilingualism that the Tamil and Urdu communities resist the intrusion of Kannada, even though they are bilingual in it and assert a strong sense of language maintenance and identity. Such maintenance is bound to receive further reinforcement from the fact that the members of the group under study are not geographically isolated from the mainland like the Tamils in Singapore or Malaysia but rather are in geographical proximity to it. Maintenance could be encouraged also by the constant flow of migrants to Bangalore which provides reinforcement to the culture. Furthermore, as already stated, these immigrants maintain cultural ties with the mainland through constant visits, and have relatives and friends visiting Bangalore stay with them and this also could contribute to language maintenance.

Concluding Remarks

The Tamils are an important majority. Considering the dominant languages spoken in India, they are an important minority in the totality of the context of demography of languages in India. The present study deals with Tamils who are an important minority community in the neighbouring state of Karnataka. The administrative boundaries of British India had helped them maintain their distinctiveness and the age old contact with the Kannadigas had led to a certain convergence. The present study brings out both these factors and throws light on how, historical, economic and political factors are inter-woven with linguistic factors in the dynamics of language maintenance by a minority community in a urban multilingual setting.

- - - -

2. SAMPLE DESIGN

In this chapter we present the scope of the questionnaire administered for collection of data, and the structure and size of the sample which forms the basis for data analysis.

2.1. Scope of the Questionnaire

Use of questionnaire has attained a great degree of sophistication in social science research. The questionnaire used in this study was prepared with utmost care keeping in view the relevance of both the independent and dependent variables as seen in various theoretical and empirical studies in language maintenance and shift. As regards independent variables we have focused attention on age, education and migration besides the other variables such as sex, occupation and contact with the native place. From the point of view of dependent variables the study of language use in different domains has been considered significant for our purpose. Language use has been studied in terms of close-knit and open networks of communication. For purposes of this study close-knit communication networks refers to the communication network within the family spread across role relationships such as

(i) Grandfather
(ii) Grandmother
(iii) Mother

(iv) Father
(v) Spouse
(vi) Children
(vii) Sisters/Brothers/Cousins
(viii) In-laws
(ix) Servants

Each respondent returned the language they use both in oral and written media in the above mentioned role-relationships. It is assumed that home is a domain where expression of thoughts and feelings is most often expressed in the language that is most intimate to the ego. Language use in the home domain is therefore assumed to be indicative of the trends and the intensity of language maintenance.

Open-networks of communication refer to communication patterns outside the home. And under this heading each respondent returned the language(s) he uses with friends, at schools/college/office, the market, hospital and in travels.

The questionnaire also elicits language related data such as

(i) Language preferences and language skills.
(ii) Language at school: (a) Language as medium and (b) Language as subject.
(iii) Language used for letter writing with relatives.
(iv) Language used in literary/cultural associations.
(v) In case of housewives, their use of language with Teachers/Post Office/Bank employees.
(vi) Inter-group language use.
(vii) Attitudes to language.

The data was collected from two groups based on caste variable and one group based on religion. The castes covered were (i) Iyengars and (ii) Mudaliars. Christians were covered under the third group, where it is assumed that caste was not a marked feature.

The sample size of each group is as follows:

Sl. No.	Community	No. of respondents
1.	Iyengars	80
2.	Mudaliars	68
3.	Christians	144
Total	... ...	292

2.2. Structure of Sample

The size of the sample in terms of various variables is given below:

(i) Age: Age as a social variable is divided into four groups –

(a) Below 20 years
(b) 20-35 years
(c) 35-60 years
(d) Above 60 years

The break-up of the sample in terms of age among the three groups is as follows:

Sl. No.	Community	Below 20	20-35	35-60	Above 60
1.	Iyengars	17	22	24	17
2.	Mudaliars	24	19	16	9
3.	Christians	26	61	48	9
	Total ...	67	102	88	35

The sample size in the 'above 60' age group is not comparable to the other age groups. The main reason for this is that the subjects were not found/could not be easily obtained in that age group.

(ii) Education: Education as a social variable is divided into three groups.

Sl. No.	Community	E_1 Below Secondary	E_2 Higher Secondary	E_3 Above Higher Secondary
1.	Iyengars	14	14	52
2.	Mudaliars	9	18	41
3.	Christians	71	13	60

While collecting the data subjects returned their educational background as categorized in the questionnaire, namely, (i) No formal education (illiterate/literate), (ii) Elementary (Std. I-IV), (iii) Secondary (Std.V-VII), (iv) Higher Secondary, (v) Graduate, and (vi) Post-graduate. It was assumed that such a break-up would result in differentiating language behaviour. But from the analysis it was found that in order to obtain meaningful correlation the six categories originally visualised needed to be collapsed into three as follows:

$E_1 = 1+2+3$; $E_2 = 4$; $E_3 = 5+6$

(iii) Sex: Composition of the sample based on sex is as follows:

Sl. No.	Community	Male	Female
1.	Iyengars	44	36
2.	Mudaliars	33	35
3.	Christians	74	70

(iv) Occupation: Composition of the sample based on occupation is as follows:

Sl. No.	Community	01	02	03	04	05
1.	Iyengars	19	22	15	12	12
2.	Mudaliars	28	17	23		
3.	Christians	38	15	45	13	33

01 = Students
02 = Housewives
03 = Teachers/Lecturers/Stenos/etc.
04 = Medical Practitioner, Accounts Officer, etc.
05 = (i) Mechanic/Clerk, etc. (refers to the Christians).
(ii) Retired Advocate/Engineer/Bank Manager/etc. (refers to the Iyengars).

Note that sample size of the Mudaliars is small. Although subjects fall under 03, 04 and 05 as is the case among the Iyengars and Christians, the number under each category is not a statistically significant number. Hence they are all clubbed under 03.

(v) Migration: As far as the variable of migration is concerned the situation is rather complex and needs some explanation.

The whole sample of the Mudaliars consists of people who were born in Bangalore. It was not possible to locate people who have recently come to Bangalore. And hence migration as an analytical variable does not arise as regards Mudaliars in this study.

As regards the Iyengars, they were divided into two groups:

1) Ego came to live in Bangalore = M_1
2) Parents and grand-parents live or have lived in Bangalore = M_2

The Christians were divided into four groups. This was done to heighten possible nuances in analysis, so the break-up is as follows:

1) Ego lives in Bangalore for less than five years = M_1
2) Ego lives in Bangalore for more than five years = M_2
3) Parents live or have lived in Bangalore = M_3
4) Grandparents live or have lived in Bangalore = M_4

While the above classification was kept as guidelines, after analysis it was found that such a division did not in any way provide new insight in the analysis. And, so, for overall analysis it has been assumed that M_1 and M_2 of the Christians is comparable to M_1 of the Iyengars and M_3 and M_4 of the Christians is comparable to M_2 of the Iyengars.

The table below gives the details of respondents as regards migration in the case of Iyengars and Christians.

Sl. No.	Community	M_1	M_2
1.	Iyengars	16	64
2.	Christians	43	101

2.3. Constraints in Data Collection

It has to be kept in view that the data for the study was collected in an atmosphere of suspicion, as an aftermath of the Gokak report. Subjects felt that the kind of data collected is detrimental to the interest of the minorities in general and the Tamils in particular. So, the data has been collected through common acquaintances of the researcher and the subjects. This is one main reason why the sample of the Mudaliars is rather small.

The sample of the Christians is comparatively high and this is due to the good offices of the Bishop of Mysore, who gave the researcher introductory letters to two Parish Priests in Bangalore. This, to a very great extent, ensured cooperation of the Tamil speaking Christians who were just then in the midst of a major language controversy, that is, the status of Tamil Vs. Kannada as language of Church service, as stated in the first Chapter. In spite of all these constraints, as it will be seen, the sample is representative and yields both statistically valid and socially plausible conclusions.

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3. DYNAMICS OF IMMIGRATION

Forces that help or hamper maintenance of language and culture can be seen from different perspectives. Awareness of one's place of origin and its location in Tamil Nadu, language of interaction in in-group meetings such as the Tamil Sangam and even types of family set-ups such as the joint or nuclear family are features that contribute to maintaining strong ties with the Tamil language and culture. Another important feature is the frequency with which one visits Tamil Nadu and the reasons for such visits. Data on such issues was elicited through items 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 22 of the questionnaire. Such data is meant to test the following hypotheses.

1) Awareness of place of origin will indicate the groups strong ties or affinity with Tamil Nadu.
2) Eliciting data as to whether subjects have relatives in Tamil Nadu and the language used in correspondence will indicate the group's ties with their language. If Tamil is used as the language of correspondence this is an indicator of language maintenance.
3) Having settled in Bangalore, the Tamils have established the Tamil Sangam and such other associations which reinforce the socio-cultural values of the group. If Tamil is used in this domain it indicates another feature that contributes to the processes of language maintenance of the group.
4) Eliciting information on the number of members that constitute a family and their relationship will indicate the

type of family that the groups maintain, i.e., whether the traditional joint family system is maintained, or has advancement in science and technology, urbanization and modernization broken such a system. If this system is maintained then this is assumed to tend to strengthen the maintenance of language, although it cannot be said that the nuclear family will not contribute to the maintenance of language. However, it is assumed that the joint family is a stronger force.

5) Maintaining contacts with relatives in Tamil Nadu is another factor which helps reinforcement of language and cultural ties of the Tamils in Bangalore. A question was asked as to whether or not the subjects visit Tamil Nadu and if they visit, what is the purpose of these visits. The following reasons were cited for the visits:

(a) To look after property,
(b) To visit relatives,
(c) To visit friends,
(d) Business,
(e) Selection of spouse.

Although speaking Tamil language and culture as mother tongue identifies one as a Tamil, it does not carry with it features of awareness of specific place of origin. A significant percentage of the Tamil speaking population in the sample cannot recollect the specific place in Tamilnadu from which they originated. In fact a significant percentage returned Bangalore as their place of origin. The inherent effort to be separate and distinct from other social groups around and simultaneously to acquaint themselves with other Tamils in Bangalore, this population uses Tamil in letter-writing, in meetings of the Tamil Sangam and such other literary associations. Such use magnifies the group's retentive orientations.

The general trend among the Tamils in Bangalore is to live as joint families. However, the advances in industrialization and urbanisation have influenced the social system so as to break the system of joint family. The younger generation now live as nuclear families. In general 50% of the families in the samples live as nuclear families.

All the three groups have relatives in Tamil Nadu. A majority of them visit Tamil Nadu, mainly to visit relatives and friends, or for purposes of pilgrimage and tour rather than to look after property or for the selection of spouse. It can thus be concluded that the Tamils in Bangalore structure language maintenance through the transference of sociolinguistic features through contact with relatives and friends either through correspondence in Tamil or through actual visits to places in Tamil Nadu.

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4. LANGUAGE PREFERENCES AND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCIES

In this chapter we discuss preferences for and proficiencies in languages and their implications for language maintenance and language shift. We examine the questions of second language acquisition and compare the western experience with the Indian conditions in order to project the differences which the Indian context shows as far as acquisition of second language and its implication for language maintenance are concerned.

The next section presents an analysis and interpretation of data on language preferences, language proficiency and languages of schooling and show how they interrelate with each other.

4.1. Language Preference and Proficiency, and Language Maintenance/Shift

In multilingual situations individuals live in groups comprising several languages. They seldom use all known languages for doing the same task. Languages in such situations serve complimentary functions. Depending on the geographical distance of the minority language from its homeland, the size of its speakers, and their propensity to maintain their language, the relationship of the minority language vis-a-vis the majority is determined. In situations, where geographical distance of the language of the minority is far from its mainland intergroup interaction often obtrude the use of the mother tongue of minority groups.

More often than not, the potency in the use of the mother tongue lessons as influence of "environmental pulls" dilutes the linguistic and cultural island in the minority groups' interactional behaviour. Nomoto (1966) indicates that, within 2 1/2 years of a Japanese speaking child's stay in an English speaking environment, Japanese is divested of its role as the principal language and English takes its place as the principal language. Convinced of the mismatch in the cultural background of blacks and South Asians in the dominant English speaking countries, social scientists evolved 'Compensatory education programmes ... related to the extent that they exemplified dominant assimilationists views ... simply, the aim was to assimilate these pupils into the mainstream culture of the school as quickly and with as little fuss as possible' (Cashmore, Troyna, 1983). In these situations protecting the use of the mother tongue is discouraged. However there is evidence that in spite of majority pressure to melt and fuse minority linguistic and cultural identity with it, minority languages have maintained themselves. This has forced language planning specialists to take a fresh look at their theories.

Considering the fact that some periphery of Bangalore was part of the Madras State till 1956 in which Tamil language and culture was a major factor, and taking the western concepts and investigations of linguistic minorities into consideration, it was considered relevant to study in an indirect way whether Tamil continues to be their principal language after transfer of the peripheral areas or the state language, namely, Kannada, has taken over as the principal language. While eliciting data on this aspect of the study, subjects were asked to return the languages they prefer and are proficient in, in a ranking order. They were also asked the medium of instruction all through their schooling and also languages learned as subject. This information was expected to indicate choice of language, whether it is mother tongue, Kannada or English and their combinations at different levels of education. By eliciting data on these lines, it was expected to infer whether Tamil continues to be the principal language. Thus, if Tamil is returned as first preference and if it is learned in school either as medium or as subject, this indicates a strong allegiance to Tamil and hence Tamil is considered to be the principal language in these cases. This will also indicate greater control over the literacy skills in the language. If Kannada is returned as first preference and if it is learned as medium, this would indicate shift in allegiance from Tamil to Kannada. This will also indicate weakened control over the literacy skills in Tamil. If English is returned as first preference and is learned as medium, this indicates allegiance to a language that carries with it prestige and power.

In the present study 'preferences' is used to mean

(i) self-reported choice of language in a particular domain,

(ii) self-reported medium for education, or

(iii) self-reported preferences for media programmes.

In a multilingual situation people use many languages for differing functional needs. And in such a situation, it is possible to assume that individuals will in their subconscious self perceive languages they are proficient in, in a ranking order. In most cases the self-reported preference of use of language in different domains and the self-reported competencies are the same. There may, however, be a difference in the case of medium of instruction.

'Proficiency' is to be taken as self-reported proficiency subjects have over the four skills in the languages they control: understand, speak, read and write. Stress is on the literacy skills especially in Tamil because this will indicate processes of language shift/maintenance.

Srivastava (1984) discussing the consequences of initiating literacy in the second language, talks of "the semantics of literacy through our understanding of two pairs of concepts-literacy versus non-literacy and illiterate versus uneducated".

For purposes of this study his definition of 'illiteracy' is relevant.

"Illiteracy, is a condition of an individual or group that has failed to master the generally accepted skills of the culture and is thus cut off from the cultural heritage of contemporaries".

"... those who are deprived of literacy skills can be labelled as illiterates".

"Literacy is defined as a communication skill which involves a written mode of verbal transmission employed by "literate" societies for effective functioning in their ever-proliferating sociological setting".

"Non-literacy is a condition of a society where writing has neither been able to evolve sufficient conditions for its meaningful usage nor has it been able to generate a value for literate culture with a special status that marginalises those who are conditioned to the life-style of an esoteric oral culture". Although the Tamil speaks the language, it is possible that they cannot read and write the language. In that case, they are illiterate in Tamil. They are, however, not deprived of facilities to acquire the literacy skills. Tamil is offered as medium (upto primary level) and as subject upto college level in the educational institutions in Bangalore. It is possible that in a setting, the populations with motivation to acquire literacy in general when provided with facilities to acquire literacy in a particular language, may choose to be literate in another language. In this sense, those Tamil speakers in Bangalore who are motivated to acquire literacy in general, and are provided with facilities as listed above but do not prefer to acquire literacy in Tamil may be literate in another language but considered illiterate in Tamil.

4.2. The Western Experience and the Indian Context

In the West where dominant monolingualism is the norm, psychologists, educators and policy makers are concerned with the assessment of immigrant children's ability to acquire skills in the second language. Cummins (1980) has this to say about immigrant children.

> "Immigrant children tend to acquire fluent surface skills in their second language (L_2) more rapidly than they develop L_2 conceptual and literacy skills. Data are presented which show that immigrant children require, on the average, at least five years of residence in the host country to approach native norms in L_2 conceptual and literacy skills".

Various interpretations have been put-forth on the immigrants' ability to perform in the L_2 and evidence indicates that these children were "culturally deprived" or "linguistically handicapped". Cummins (Ibid.) goes on to say that "Testing of intelligence" of minority children through their weaker languages was largely responsible for the myth that bilingualism causes cognitive confusion and academic handicaps. Acquiring skills in the second language has further to depend on attitudes to the language, and opportunities for its functional use. Immigrants in the West are to be perceived in a different perspective than what immigrants in India are. In the case of the immigrants in Bangalore, where grassroot multilingualism is the norm, immigrants are viewed in an altogether different perspective. The Government's policy of the three language formula as a strategy to maintain national integration ensures that children formally learn three languages, and most linguistic minorities end up learning four languages. They are not treated as "culturally deprived" as the core value of every Indian is the Indian culture, nor are they treated as "Linguistically handicapped" as the general Indian ability is competence in at least two languages. Attitudes to language also do not mar abilities, although attitudes to speakers of languages can often act as the stumbling block. The Government's policy to maintain diversity is looked upon as an asset rather than a handicap.

Nomoto's (1966) work on the Japanese immigrants in London shows that when parents were asked to subjectively evaluate their children's competence in both Japanese and English, "Parents whose length of residence (LOR) did not exceed 2 1/2 years tended to report Japanese as their children's stronger language, after but 2 1/2 years English was more frequently judged to be stronger" (Cummins, 1980). While such a situation is largely true in the case of families of recent immigrants in metropolitan cities all over India, there are segments of populations, historically settled in certain areas/localities, for whom their own mother tongue continues to be the principal language even amidst another dominant language. For the Tamils in Bangalore, even after a century of their stay in Bangalore, Tamil continues to be their principal language. And at the same time the Tamils also acquire proficiency in the state language as well as other Indian languages. Thus, in contrast to the West, acquisition of languages by immigrants in India is neither imposed nor are they subjugated to intelligence tests but it is in the nature of the core value of the Indian to be a composite language being. As Srivastava (Ibid.) puts it "India in principle is committed to the principle of integration rather than forced assimilation". And at the same time he says that "in the process of achieving its ideal, i.e., unity in diversity, India gave to certain languages the role of the dominant language" which "got looked upon by a section of people as a symbol of communalism and language chauvinism, and, over and above, a linguistic instrument of oppression of minority languages".

Having presented relevant aspects of the Western situation, we now present our data in the following two tables. They indicate 'preferences' for languages and accompanying skills in the languages of the three groups under study.

Preferences

Iyengars	1	2	3	4	5
Tamil	33.6	25.0	25.0	9.7	6.60
Kannada	19.7	43.40	23.60	10.50	2.60
English	63.50	21.50	10.80	1.40	2.80

Mudaliars	1	2	3	4	5
Tamil	52.20	29.41	5.88	3.67	2.94
Kannada	12.89	12.89	39.45	11.72	0.78
English	40.68	39.83	11.86	5.08	1.69

Christians	1	2	3	4	5
Tamil	66.66	19.44	5.55	6.25	2.08
Kannada	2.08	7.63	55.55	12.50	1.38
English	30.55	56.94	5.55	0.69	0.69

[**Note:** Columns 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, indicate subjects preferences for language,
e.g., 1 = 1st preference, 2 = 2nd preference, etc.]

The three groups are unlike in their preference for language. The Iyengars prefer English first, Kannada second and Tamil third. The Mudaliars are divided giving first preference to Tamil and English, second preference to English and Tamil and third preference to Kannada. The Christian give first preference to Tamil, second to English and third to Kannada.

Skills

Iyengars	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Tamil	95.00	95.00	37.50	28.75
Kannada	95.00	93.75	82.50	77.50
English	92.50	90.00	87.50	87.50
Hindi	58.75	46.25	57.50	47.50

Mudaliars	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Tamil	100.00	100.00	88.23	88.23
Kannada	100.00	92.19	59.37	59.37
English	100.00	100.00	98.29	98.29
Hindi	99.99	79.48	69.23	71.79

Christians	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Tamil	100.00	100.00	88.19	83.33
Kannada	78.44	72.91	39.58	35.41
English	94.44	91.66	90.27	88.19
Hindi	43.75	34.72	27.77	28.47

The three groups maintain Tamil at the oral level. The Iyengars show a tendency of shift at the written level. The Mudaliars and Christians maintain Tamil at the written level. Their skills in written Tamil is considerably high. Whereas the Iyengars control equal skills in Kannada and English, the Mudaliars and Christians control equal skills in Tamil and English, and their competence in Kannada is comparatively low. While the Mudaliars control all the four skills in four languages, the Iyengars have control over three languages, indicating loss at the written level in Tamil. In so far as the Christians are concerned, understanding and spoken skills are in three languages and reading and writing skills in two languages.

One important and significant reason for the maintenance of Tamil at the written and reading level, among the Mudaliars and

Christians is due to the fact that they are schooled through the Tamil and English medium from the primary level, with a gradual shift to the English medium. Whereas, the Iyengars are schooled through the Kannada and English medium with a gradual shift to the English medium at the High School and College levels. A significant finding in the research work of Mohan Lal (1982) is that the structure of Tamil as spoken by the Iyengars in Bangalore indicates convergence at different linguistic levels, whereas no such indication of convergence was found in his study among the Mudaliars. This could be one of the main reasons why the Iyengars' literacy skills in Tamil are so low. Those who control these skills are the recent immigrants who come from Tamil Nadu to settle in Bangalore as a result of marriage alliance or job. The Iyengars perceive the Tamil they speak to be a corrupt form of the standard Tamil. It is used in closed in-groups. They usually do not speak in Tamil to those whom they think are 'the Tamil speakers'. Field observations indicate that subjects refuse to talk in Tamil to those relatives who live in Tamil Nadu. There are cases when subjects visit Tamil Nadu, they avoid use of Tamil but prefer to use Hindi or English. Because whenever they make enquiries in Tamil, especially when, in the interacting scene, it is possible to get the message in reading the sign boards, as one subject said that if he enquires the bus routes in Tamil, the often asked question is, if he can talk Tamil why cannot he read the sign boards? The Iyengars show an 'inferiority' complex in regard to their Tamil identity. They maintain a dual identity. Amidst non-Tamil speakers, they claim they are Kannadigas, at the same time they are Tamil mother tongue speakers, amongst Tamil speakers they tend to avoid discussing language, and if ever the topic is broached they avoid use of Tamil. These are some of the indications why the Iyengars show a marked decline in acquiring literacy skills in Tamil. Another contributing factor is the ongoing process of convergence between Tamil and Kannada. And this, probably, is the most important factor causing identity crises.

The data clearly shows that Christians and Mudaliars are highly literate in Tamil and that maintenance of Tamil among these two groups is stable. It is relevant at this point to quote Thirumalai (1983) because what he says, explicates the high literacy skills of the Tamil Christians. He says that 'Christianity is a written, text-based religion at least as far as the Tamil Christians are concerned'. Field observations indicate that it is also generally applicable of the Tamil Catholic Christians. Thirumalai further emphasises "A religion that emphasises language skills ... all the four language skills, a religion that sustains itself through an insistence upon and exploitation of language skills naturally insisted upon literacy as an internal characteristic of its adherents". This partially explains the high per cent of literates in the four skills in Tamil among the Christians in the study. Moreover, Christianity is characterised by congregational praying where prayers are verbalised aloud.

4.3. Languages of Schooling and Language Maintenance/Shift

In the ladder of education from the primary to the college level there is a diminishing demand for the Tamil medium as one goes higher up. Secondly, even from among those who study through the Tamil medium at the lower stages there is an overtly expressed preference for English by a significant number. The same is true of Kannada. In case of English, however, there is a steady growth in number.

All those who have studied through the Tamil medium at the elementary, secondary, higher secondary and college levels, control all the four skills in Tamil.

Coming to individual groups, while a majority of the subjects among the Iyengars control all the four skills in English, Kannada and Hindi, less than half of the subjects control the reading and writing skills in Tamil. In case of the Mudaliars, a majority of them control all the four skills in the four languages. Whereas among the Christians, they control the four skills in Tamil and English. A majority understand and speak Kannada, but control over Hindi though significant is minimal. Most of those who have studied through the Tamil medium at the elementary have assigned Tamil as first preference, those who have studied through the Kannada medium assign first preference to English and Kannada. Those who have studied through the English medium assign first preference to English.

Those who have had formal instruction through the Tamil medium control the four skills in Tamil as well as in English. But Kannada as medium does not facilitate subjects to control the reading and writing skills in Tamil.

Those who have studied through the Kannada medium control Kannada and English equally well, but they do not read and write Tamil.

Those who have studied through the English medium also read and write Kannada. They can read and write in Tamil more than those who have studied through the Kannada medium.

Learning Tamil either as medium or as subject enhances the status of Tamil. That is, those who study Tamil at the formal level retain all the four skills. Whereas less than half of those who study through the English or Kannada medium retain skills in Tamil. In other words, the written skills in Tamil is acquired mainly through formal instruction of the language.

Although the majority of subjects studied through the English medium, and have assigned English as first preference, a majority of subjects control all the four skills in Kannada as well. This may be due to the non-availability of facilities for learning Tamil in the English medium schools or it can also mean that subjects find it socio-economically advantageous.

Observations indicate that medium of instruction and learning languages through formal methods influence preference for language and skills in language. Learning Tamil through formal institutions seems to be the only source from where respondents acquire skills to read and write Tamil.

Learning English as medium and as subject inhibits the growth of the majority language. Learning English not only does not necessarily stand on the way of the growth of the minority mother tongue, but sometimes can act as a cover for the maintenance of the minority mother tongue. At the level of popular culture, languages are maintained. At the level of high culture, the growth of the majority language is thwarted. English education comes in the way of the development of the majority language. But English education in a sense acts as a boon for the maintenance of indigenous minority language and culture, when that language is the medium of education.

Language as Medium and as Subject

Educational level	Tamil		Kannada		English	
	Medium	Subject	Medium	Subject	Medium	Subject
Iyengars:						
Primary	C 13.15		42.10		44.73	
	10	7	32	21	34	16
	T (12.50)	(8.75)	(40.00)	(26.25)	(42.50)	(20.00)
Secondary	C 11.94		31.34		56.71	
	8	8	21	19	38	14
	T (10.00)	(10.00)	(26.25)	(23.75)	(47.50)	(17.50)
Higher Secondary	C 9.23		10.76		80.00	
	6	9	7	22	52	10
	T (7.50)	(11.25)	(8.75)	(27.50)	(65.00)	(12.50)
College	C 1.96		1.96		96.07	
	1	6	1	12	49	3
	T (1.25)	(7.50)	(1.25)	(15.00)	(61.25)	(3.75)

The above tables indicate subjects' actual schooling from primary level through the college level. They show the medium through which subjects were educated and the language(s) they studied as subject. 'T' indicates percentage of the total sample. 'C' indicates percentage out of the total who actually studied.

Tamil as medium and as subject is hardly significant for Iyengars.

Kannada and English as medium and as subject is equal at the primary level. From the secondary level onwards English as medium increases and Kannada as subject increases.

Educational level	Tamil		Kannada		English	
	Medium	Subject	Medium	Subject	Medium	Subject
Mudaliars:						
Primary	31 T (45.58) C 51.66	12 (17.64)	4 (5.88) 6.66	25 (36.76)	25 (36.76) 41.66	17 (25.00)
Secondary	23 T (33.82) C 37.30	23 (33.82)	4 (5.88) 6.55	30 (44.11)	34 (50.00) 55.73	18 (26.47)
Higher Secondary	11 T (16.17) C 18.64	24 (35.29)	2 (2.94) 3.38	31 (45.58)	46 (67.64) 77.96	13 (19.11)
College	3 T (4.41) C 7.14	19 (27.94)	0 --	12 (17.64)	39 (57.35) 92.85	5 (7.35)

In the case of Mudaliars, medium of education at the primary level is higher through Tamil than through English. As the level of education increases, medium through English increases and Tamil decreases. Kannada as medium is insignificant. As subject a significant per cent of the population learn Kannada.

Educational level	Tamil		Kannada		English	
	Medium	Subject	Medium	Subject	Medium	Subject
Christian:						
	91	20	3	7	47	34
Primary	T (63.19)	(13.89)	(2.08)	(4.86)	(32.64)	(23.61)
	C 64.53		2.12		33.33	
	71	15	3	8	64	36
Secondary	T (49.31)	(10.42)	(2.08)	(5.56)	(44.44)	(25.00)
	C 51.44		2.17		46.37	
	52	22	2	5	78	27
Higher Secondary	T (36.11)	(15.28)	(1.39)	(3.47)	(54.17)	(18.75)
	C 39.39		1.51		50.09	
	9	24	--	3	59	6
College	T (6.25)	(16.67)	(0.0)	(2.08)	(40.97)	(4.17)
	C 13.23				86.76	

In the case of Christians, a large number of subjects have had their primary education through the Tamil medium. English is the next preferred language as medium.

At the secondary level a significant per cent from the Tamil medium shift to the English medium. This trend increases as the level of education rises.

Despite the existence of Kannada as medium as well as subject in the educational media, the concern of subjects to education is through the Tamil medium with a gradual transition to the English medium. Kannada as medium and as subject is significant by its almost total absence. Taking into consideration language as medium and language as subject of the three groups, namely, the Iyengars, Mudaliars and Christians on a comparative basis, the following picture emerges:

(i) Tamil as medium in the case of the Iyengars is insignificant, whereas Tamil as medium for the Mudaliars and Christians is highly significant. Between the two, the Christians score higher than the Mudaliars, because at the higher secondary level the Tamil medium is significantly high.

(ii) Tamil as subject in the case of the Iyengars is insignificant, whereas for the Mudaliars and Christians Tamil as subject is significantly high. Between the two, the Mudaliars score higher than the Christians. This is apparent because Tamil as medium is higher for the Christians.

(iii) Whereas the interplay of language as medium and as subject is between Kannada and English for the Iyengars, it is Tamil, Kannada and English for the Mudaliars, and for the Christians it is Tamil and English, the role of Kannada being insignificant.

(iv) From the value reached at, at the college level, it can be inferred that the Iyengars and Mudaliars are more educated than the Christians.

(v) Kannada as either medium or subject has not yet entered the perceptions of the Christians. Though it is important as state language, the Christians live with the two major languages, i.e., Tamil and English as their language of education.

Social Variables and Language Maintenance/Shift

In this section social variables that significantly indicate major alterations in the linguistic behaviour of various groups under study are discussed.

Analysis of the data based on the various social variable indicate that age, education, sex and length of stay in Bangalore are significant factors.

Analysis based on education indicates that the three groups differ in the literacy skills. Each group has its own ranking order in the literacy skills. And this is dependent on the level of education.

Community		Level of education		
		E_1	E_2	E_3
Iyengars	...	Kannada English Tamil	Kannada English Tamil	English Kannada Tamil
Mudaliars	...	Tamil Kannada	English Tamil Kannada	English Tamil Kannada
Christians	...	Tamil Kannada English	English Tamil Kannada	English Tamil Kannada

When education is correlated with literacy skills, such a correlation characteristics the long term aims and aspirations of the groups concerned. When we look into the order of languages given in the above table two opposing views emerge from the above table: Lower the education level lower the literacy skills in English. However, the Iyengars control Kannada better than Tamil. Whereas the Mudaliars and Christians control Tamil better than Kannada. At the E_2 level the Iyengars behave the same as at E_1, but for the two other groups, English displaces Kannada to 3rd position and Tamil displaces the same language to second position.

At the E_3 level, for the Iyengars Kannada takes the second position and English the first position. And the two other groups retain the same as at E_2. In fact what emerges from the above, is that priorities differ. The Iyengars relegate Tamil to a position, which seems to suggest that the other two languages are more important to their interests than Tamil, their mother tongue. Whereas for the two other groups, although English holds the first place, Tamil takes the second place.

The ranking order of preferences among the Iyengars across age groups is significant. While a majority across all age groups return English as first preference, A_2, A_3 and A_4 prefer English, Tamil, and Kannada in that order. The A_1 group prefers English, Kannada and Tamil. In case of the A_1 group Tamil is displaced to third position and Kannada, to second position. Skills in these languages are similar. All respondents in A_2, A_3 and A_4 understand and speak Tamil. Whereas not at all subjects in A_1 understand and speak Tamil. Two girls (sisters) in the A_1 group cannot speak Tamil at all. The parents of these girls spoke different forms of Tamil. Constant criticism of each others Tamil has led to the loss of Tamil at home. This particular family has switched from Tamil to Kannada. According to them, there are several case like this. In short, younger the age group greater the control over Kannada and lesser control over the literacy skills in Tamil. This is one indication where subjects have shown complete shift from Tamil to Kannada.

This is in contrast to the Christians. Age does not indicate a significant difference in the control over Tamil. Literacy skills in Tamil is significantly high. Age is significant in that A_1 and A_2 control higher skills in English than the A_3 and A_4.

The controversy over language in Karnataka in general and language in the Church in particular seems to have affected the A_1 group in reporting skills in Kannada. As per the data here their skills in Kannada is significantly lower than other age groups.

In so far as Mudaliars are concerned age is significant in the literacy skills in Tamil; lower the age group, lesser are the skills in Tamil. The skills in Kannada and English indicates that lower the age greater are the literacy skills in these two languages. Between the two languages the literacy skills in English range from 33% at A_4 to 100% at A_1 and A_2, and that of Kannada 33% at A_4 to 75% at A_1.

A majority of the men among Iyengars assign first preference to English, Kannada and Tamil follow. The women assign first preference to English, and Tamil and Kannada follow.

For the Mudaliars and Christians sex is not a significant variable. Both groups assign first preference to Tamil, English and Kannada follow. However, sex is found to be a significant variable as regards Iyengars.

The possible explanation why sex as a variable is significant among the Iyengars is

(i) a majority of the women are housewives. Their immediate need is the mother tongue and the dominant state language and

(ii) the men are the major sources of income to the family. Their exposure to language is much wider and hence the need to use languages for varying purposes is different than the need of the women.

All subjects understand and speak Tamil. When it comes to literacy skills, the men among the Iyengars control their literacy skills in English and Hindi greater than Tamil and Kannada. The women, on the other hand, control literacy skills in Tamil and Kannada greater than English and Hindi.

Concluding Remarks

As Dittmar says, multilingualism is a linguistic situation where more than two languages co-exist within the bounds of one society, or are kept in constant contact by politically and economically determined interests. From the analysis of language use within the home (and even other domains) it is clear that there is some thrust of use of Tamil language. One gets the impression that Tamil is not only maintained with rigid and conscious awareness but also use of skills in other languages are equally high. From the analysis of the skills in languages as reported by the subjects, an interesting picture emerges the Iyengars control four languages with the exception that reading and writing skills in Tamil is neglected. The Mudaliars control the four skills in Tamil and English. And although all understand and speak Kannada and Hindi, not all, but a large majority read and write Kannada and Hindi. The Christians control four languages at the spoken level, but read and write in two languages. This means that the above phenomenon is due to manifestations in the inter-changeable use of more than two languages. Added to this, is the fact that the languages studied at the formal levels are, at least, three, to begin with.

The groups under study portray a multiple relationship of use of language in different domains. At home and at informal situations Tamil is predominantly used. This explains the total maintenance of Tamil, even though the total sample of the Mudaliars, across generations are born in Bangalore and a large majority of

Iyengars and Christians are born in Bangalore. But to accommodate, adjust and sort of augment corrdination of this total behaviour as citizens of Bangalore, the Iyengars and Mudaliars have mastered the dominant state language and the two national languages. They live in a society where co-existence of several languages determine the group's interests and hence leads to the manifestation of interchangeable use of several languages. It can thus be construed that since 50% of the Mudaliars control all the four skills and the Iyengars control skills in three languages, they are stable multilingual communities. In so far as the Christians are concerned they seem different from the two other groups. One can draw a conclusion that the Christians total interactional sphere is regulated and controlled by Tamil and English, with minimal use of Kannada and Hindi. The point of departure that the Iyengars show, from that of the Mudaliars and Christians is that the group in general and the younger generation in particular do not control the reading and writing skills in Tamil, but also indicate tendencies towards the total loss of Tamil. The three groups can be put on a continuum of language purity and language convergence being the extreme points. The Iyengars weigh heavier towards the point of language convergence and the Mudaliars and Christians weigh heavier at the other point. At one point the degree of language loyalty can be measured by considering competence in the four skills as the important deciding factor, i.e., those who control the four skills equally are characterised as language retentionists whereas those who control the skills on an unequal basis, with reading and writing skills being severed is characterised as the beginning of a shift process. At the same time, while the structure of language among the Mudaliars and Christians is intact, the structure of language among the Iyengars is being influenced by the structure of Kannada.

At the peripheral level 'language loyalty' (Fishman, 1966) is the general norm, in that the three groups continue to speak their mother tongue. In a multilingual situation such as India it is normal to speak one's mother tongue irrespective of the social and political ideology. This is unlike what Gordon (1964) calls 'Anglo conformity' in the American situation persons of minority language background flow into the dominant English language group. In the Indian situation, there is no conformity of language and culture into the dominant language but structural incorporation of language and culture to coalesce into the multilingual mosaic.

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5. DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

5.1. Language Use in the Home Domain

Home is a domain where interaction is mainly with members of the family and it is expected that the mother tongue will be the language of the home. Fishman (1972) has discussed two different approaches in studying language use in the home domain. One is what Braunshausen and Mackey (1962, 1965, 1966) have specified as family "members" father, mother, child, domestic, governess, etc. And the other is what Gross (1951) specified as dyads: grandfather to grandmother, etc., i.e., language of interaction between speaker and hearer within the home domain. In this study each individual returned their use of language with eight role-relationships within the family, such as: grandfather, grandmother, mother, father, spouse, children, brothers/sisters/cousins, inlaws. In the Indian situation 'servants' are a common phenomenon employed as household helpers. And so language used with servants is also included. Each subject returned the language they use and is used by their addressee. More often, the language used by the addresser to the addressee in the home domain is the same. The study had in view the following hypotheses.

1) The language used with grandparents/parents will be Tamil. It is assumed that older people will use Tamil only.

2) The language used with grandmother/mother will be Tamil. It is assumed that the female counterpart in the family.

will use Tamil only. Their network of communication is usually restricted.

3) The language used with father/children or children/father will show variation Tamil, English and Kannada will be used in varying degrees.

4) The language used among siblings will be Kannada, English and less of, Tamil. It is assumed that in a multilingual neighbourhood, peer group influences, will result in the lesser use of Tamil.

5) Use of language with inlaws will be Tamil.

6) Use of language with the servant will be Tamil/Kannada.

In other words, use of language across role relationships was elicited to check the hypothesis that Tamil will not continue to be the sole dominant language used within the domain of the home. Length of residence in Bangalore, age of the group and level of education will be the factors responsible for such a situation.

Analysis of the data based on the tables presented as appendix is given below.

The three groups use Tamil at home across all role relationships. The degree of such use varies from group to group. The use of Tamil among the Iyengars, especially the written skill, is significantly lower than among the Mudaliars and Christians. If one breaks up the role relationships into the following groups, use of language gets more clearly demarcated as given below:

(i) Grandparents and parents
(ii) Spouse and inlaws
(iii) Children
(iv) Siblings
(v) Servants

The Iyengars use Kannada and English besides Tamil with (i) and the Mudaliars and Christians Tamil. A significant percentage also uses English. In both these latter cases, the degree in the use of Kannada is nil. Use of English with grandmother and mother is significantly low. Tamil is used with 'spouse' and 'inlaws'. However, the Iyengars also use Kannada and English, whereas in the other two groups English is used only by the men. The language of interaction with 'children' is mainly Tamil. The Iyengars also use Kannada and English. The Mudaliars use only Tamil. The Christians also use English. Tamil is mainly used with siblings. The use of Kannada and English, however, is much higher when compared to its use in other role relationships. Once again the Iyengar's use of Kannada and English is much higher than the Mudaliars and Christians. The use of Kannada is significantly lower than the use of English.

The women, among the Iyengars use the spoken form of Tamil much more than the men. The men, on the other hand, use Kannada and English much more than Tamil. It can thus be construed that women help in the retention of Tamil. Analysis based on age indicates that upto the level of grandparents and parents, the use of Tamil by those below the age of 20 does not indicate much of a difference with other age groups. But with siblings (brothers/sisters/cousins) this group does show a significant drop in the use of spoken Tamil, with Kannada and English taking over. Tamil, at the written level is minimal. Those who use written Tamil are the older generation and the recent immigrants. In fact, retention of written Tamil is due to the ongoing flow of immigrants. In general, therefore, Kannada and English have displaced Tamil for most written purposes.

There is a gradual decline on the scale of written skills in Tamil from the older generation (A_4) to the younger generation

(A_1). The younger generation's control over written skills in Tamil being 'nil'. Another significant finding is that while the older generation indicate written skills in Kannada, Tamil and English, in that order, there is a gradual shift to written skills in English and Kannada, among the younger generation.

Use of Tamil, among the Mudaliars, is high, both oral and written. This is in spite of the fact that the total sample in the study are born in Bangalore. If 92.65% of the total sample of the Mudaliars control the reading and writing skills in Tamil, this in itself, is an indication that Tamil in the home domain is maintained. 60% have returned Tamil in use for written purposes in the home domain. In fact the older generation are monolinguals. The role of Kannada is negligible. But since it has entered the domain of the home through the younger generation, it can be construed that the use of Kannada will eventually increase. 68% of the total population use English for written purposes. The role of English in the domain of the home is due to variables, such as age and education. Lower the age and higher the education level greater the use of English.

Use of Tamil is the preserve of the home among the Christians across all role relationships. English is also used, but its use increases among the younger generation. Kannada is negligible. Its use has increased among the younger generation.

The Gokak Movement in Karnataka and its consequent repercussions, has affected the Christians in Bangalore. The movement has entered the domain of religious practice as well. The ongoing controversy is that Kannada should replace Tamil as language of the Church. This has instilled in the minds of the younger generation stronger loyalties to Tamil. Analysis indicates that use of Tamil across age groups is stable. However, length of residence in Bangalore (migration) and education lessens the use of Tamil.

Control over the written skills in Tamil is consistently high across all social variables. They use Tamil and/or English for written purposes in the home domain.

Compared to the Iyengars who retain the spoken skills in Tamil while indicating a loss of the written skills, the Mudaliars and Christians indicate retention of oral as well as written skills in Tamil.

Summarising the analysis of the three groups, there is evidence to show role relationship differences accounting for differential language use behaviour. Acquisition and use of the Kannada and English language sees no bounds for the Iyengars so much so these two languages have markedly made inroads into the home domain. Whereas in the case of the Mudaliars and Christians, the role of Kannada is restricted, the role of English has made its entry into the home domain, and Tamil continues to be the principal language. For those subjects who are less educated, the use of English does not exist. This is the situation for all the three groups. However in the case of the Mudaliars and Christians, it is Tamil only, whereas for the Iyengars it is Tamil and Kannada.

The three groups are equally exposed a great deal to several languages, individually and collectively, in different domains, different contexts and different situations. As is evident from the analysis Tamil is most often, the language used with 'grand-parents' and 'parents'. This is more pronounced in the case of 'grandmother' and 'mother'. This is a possible indication that women are reluctant to be easily moulded by forces of change. It is possible to argue that in a situation of major languages being minority languages in other states, parents and grandparents stress the use and importance of the mother tongue. The main reason seems to be that children are exposed to other languages in the environment and more often than not formal education in the mother tongue is not accessible to those who wish to study through the mother tongue.

The environmentalists in the field of education argue that family is a significant factor in determining school success. In other words, the culture of the home makes it congruent for the child to gain high achievement standards. Similarly in the maintenance or shift of language the home climate promotes or impedes language maintenance. The socialization process of children of the Iyengar group impedes language maintenance, whereas the socialization process of children of the Mudaliars and Christian groups promotes language maintenance.

5.2. Interpersonal Communication

Interpersonal communication is that area of language interaction in the total linguistic repertoire of a group which involves individuals of one language group interacting with individuals of other language groups in situations, such as:

(i) Market transactions.

(ii) Doctor-patient-doctor; Nurse-pateint-Nurse and compounder-patient-compounder-interaction.

(iii) Interaction with public transport drivers and conductors.

(iv) Interaction with priests in Temples and Churches and also language of prayer.

(v) Language use by non-working housewives who need to interact in public places, such as banks, post-offices, teachers and administrators.

Since these domains, involve mostly public 'demand and supply' activity, it often happens that language plays a significant role in smooth transactions. For example in market transactions the seller often conducts his affairs in the language of the buyer. Moreover, different languages assume differential importance in different public activity. Like, English will be used in prestigeous shopping centres whereas its use is inapplicable in petty grocery and vegetable shops. Similarly, this will be the situation in language use in Hospital and travelling situations. Choice of language in the above mentioned domains deal with items v, vi, vii, viii and 14 in the questionnaire which is meant to test the following hypotheses.

1) The choice of language will depend on the nature of activity and role relationship in the situation.
2) In the domain of prayer language use is bound to be either in Sanskrit and Tamil in the case of the Hindus and Tamil and English among the Christians.

Although Tamil is the most dominant language used at home, and in the case of the Mudaliars and Christians, the literacy skills are in this language, this behaviour maintained at home obviously cannot be expected to be maintained outside the home, since the environment outside the home is not restricted to the mother tongue only. Conditioned by economic benefits use of a language promotes, and also the environmental and political conditions, choice of a language gets manifested. But considering the fact that the Mudaliars and Christians live in enclaves the Tamil language emerges as the most dominant language used in these domains. As is evident from language use in other domains, in these domains also, among the Iyengars, Kannada displaces Tamil, whereas among the Mudaliars and Christians Tamil is the dominant language. All the three groups also use Kannada, English and Hindi.

In market transactions the Iyengars use Kannada, Tamil, English and Hindi in that order. While travelling it is Kannada, Tamil, Hindi and English With the doctor and nurse it is English, Kannada and Tamil and with the compounders it is Kannada, English and Tamil.

In market transactions the Mudaliars use Tamil, Kannada, Hindi and English. While travelling there is a difference based on sex. The men use Kannada and Hindi, the women Tamil, Kannada and English. With the doctor, nurse and compounder the men use English, Kannada and Tamil, whereas the women use English, Tamil and Kannada, with the compounders they use Tamil, English and Kannada. By giving greater importance to the use of Tamil, the women show less chances towards language shift.

The Christians have to be viewed keeping in view the language controversies mentioned in the earlier sections. In market transactions they use Tamil, Kannada and English in that order. Age as a variable is significant. There is a 30% drop in the use of Kannada from A_2 to A_1. This seems to be an indirect manifestation of the affects of the language controversies. In the hospital English and Tamil are used. The use of Kannada is negligible. While travelling they use Tamil, Kannada and English.

In the domain of religious activity, the men, among the Iyengars interact with the priests mainly in Tamil and also use

Kannada and English. The women however mainly use Tamil, and Kannada to a lesser degree. The use of English is negligible. The use of Tamil is higher among the women than among the men. Prayers are said either in Sanskrit or Tamil.

The Mudaliars interact with priests in Tamil, use of Kannada is low and that of English negligible. They pray mainly in Tamil. A significant percentage among the men use Kannada; among the women its use is negligible.

The Christians use Tamil and English in interaction with priests as also in personal prayer. Age and education are significant variables. Lower the age, greater the use of English and higher the education greater the use of English. Note that if the Hindu priests knew English, Hindus would have certainly used English in their transactions with them. Also note that only based on restrictions of use of one language or other for ritual purposes, Hindus may restrict themselves to the use of Tamil or a non-English Indian language.

One significant and important point that emerges from the analysis of language of religion among the Iyengars is that Tamil in this domain is extraordinarily high. Just as in the domain of the home, spoken Tamil is maintained, one could conclude that for personal and intimate purposes Tamil continues to be their principal language.

The non-working housewives have the following language use practices. Some said that their spouses take care of activities relating to work in the bank, post-office and even interaction with children's teachers and administrators. Those among this group who interact in these domains return the use of Tamil, Kannada and English. If children are sent to Tamil medium schools, the use of Tamil dominates. If they are sent to the English medium, English dominates.

5.3. Inter-group Behaviour

Choice of language is very much a psychological process, controlled by the ingenuity of the mind, which involves the capacity to perceive, predict, and control behaviour. In a multilingual situation where several languages co-exist in the neighbourhood and where languages serve different functional needs, it is found relevant to study use of language(s) across linguistic groups and across the socio-economic scale.

This section deals with items 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 of the questionnaire. The questions elicit data on the following.

1) Language of interaction with other language groups and vice-versa (27, 28).
2) Language of interaction when interactants are aware of the languages controlled by each other.
3) The relevance of the social status of the interactants on the choice of language. This section should correlate with language use at the workspot.
4) The relevance of context or topic in the choice of language.
5) The preference or insistence that the Tamilians interact in Tamil only.

The data on the above aspects of intergroup behaviour is meant to throw light on the following hypotheses.

1) Intergroup interaction will be in Tamil. In other words, the non-Tamil speakers control Tamil as a result of being a member of the Tamil dominated neighbourhood network.
2) There will be the intuitive urge to use Tamil when interactants are Tamil speakers, but there will be a difference in actual use. In most cases, choice of language is

influenced by the choice of the initiator of the interaction or vice-versa.

3) Choice of language depends on the social status of the interactants.

4) Processes of language shift will indicate that subjects will 'prefer' to use Tamil, rather than 'insist' on its use.

5) Processes of language maintenance will indicate that subjects will 'insist' on the use of Tamil.

The main thrust in this section is to reinforce inference related to the linguistic dominance of the group under study. Does the state of being a linguistic minority bring in the notion of language barrier, although in multilingual groups, choice of language is function based which do not engender a threat to the mother tongue of the group. The questions asked touch intimate perceptions and hence visualise the phenomenon responsible for the groups resilient and fortifying efforts of language retention.

Inter-language interaction is a significant phenomenon. It does show that the behavioural style is flexible, both by the majority as well as by the minority.

Analysis of the question as to which non-Tamil communities the Tamils in Bangalore interact with and which language(s) do they use in such interaction supports the inferences that have surfaced in the area of language use. Although the response of the Iyengars towards the use of Tamil with other linguistic groups is significant, but in comparison to the other two groups, such use of language is low.

Among the Iyengars age and education are significant variables. Those who are in the younger age group use less of Tamil than the

the older age group. Those who are less educated use less Tamil, whereas those who are highly educated use more Tamil. It can thus be inferred that the less educated have shifted from Tamil to Kannada whereas the educated maintain the use of Tamil.

Among the Mudaliars and Christians, the use of Tamil is so high that consideration of social variables does not arise.

The kinds of linguistic groups who interact in Tamil with the Tamils are the speakers of Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu and Urdu. These groups form the major groups, because obviously these groups live in large numbers in Bangalore. There are also speakers of Gujarati, English, Hindi, Konkani and Marathi who interact in Tamil.

The following table shows the percentage of use and non-use of Tamil in inter-group interaction.

Community		Use of Tamil (%)	Do not use Tamil (%)
Iyengars	...	40.00	60.00
Mudaliars	...	82.35	17.64
Christians	...	81.25	18.75

In a given interactional situation, intuitive behaviour of interactants is to use a particular language depending on the context of the speech act, and more often than not, when the interactants are aware that both of them control Tamil, they tend to use Tamil.

Once again the Iyengars fall apart, 77.5% of them say that if a person knows Tamil they like to talk to the person in Tamil. But in actuality only 37.5% use Tamil in such interactions. The wide gap between thought and action can be attributed to the general tendency among the Iyengars to shift. But at the same time there is this underlying loyalty to their mother tongue, in that whether they actually use it or not 77.5% of the sample like to use Tamil. Whereas 96% of the Mudaliars say they like to interact in Tamil and 83.30% actually interact in Tamil, 83.33% among the Christians say that they like to interact in Tamil, and 76% actually interact in Tamil. For these two groups there is not much difference in wanting to use a language and in the actuality of the act.

The inference is, then, that the mother tongue is used in as many domains as is possible. Where perceptions are that mother tongue does not fulfil the purpose of interaction the use of English is resorted to. The role of Kannada among the Iyengars is much higher than among the Mudaliars and Christians.

Analysis of language use and status of the interactants shows that 60% of the subjects in all the three groups do not use language depending on the status of the speakers/hearer.

Those who use language depending on status of the individual use English with the high status group. In other words, higher the status greater the use of English, and lower the status greater the use of Kannada and Tamil.

Language valuation could often result in social impropriety. For example, in a formal situation, most often, the content and structure of language is the standard form, and the vice-versa in an informal situation. But if, in a formal situation, the content and structure of language is the non-standard form, the audience will react and will result in social impropriety. It is assumed that use of language is regulated by socio-cultural norms and the expectation is that there would be an inherent choice in verbal encounters. Individuals or groups will choose to use a language in situations depending on the context and or topic of interaction.

For analysis of whether language use is dependent on the topic or context of situation no clear picture emerges. All the three groups are ambiguous in their response. In general the inherent social behaviour of the subjects is to use Tamil in as many domains irrespective of topic or context, though context appears to have a marginal edge over topic.

The Tamils in Bangalore can be termed as 'Minorities by Will'. They are anxious to maintain their distinctive identities. If this is acceptable, then, it is possible to assume that the Tamil speakers in Bangalore will 'insist' rather than 'prefer' that interaction among Tamil speakers is in Tamil only. This was also looked into. The response of all the three groups show that while a small percentage 'insists' on the use of Tamil, subjects generally 'prefer its use.

It can thus be concluded that the groups feel the need to acclimatize themselves to new behavioural patterns which envisage accommodation and adjustment to local behavioural needs and so 'insisting' on the use of Tamil does not manifest itself. 'Preference' in the use of Tamil seems acceptable.

To conclude, issues relating to inter-group behaviour have been analysed and discussed. Cordiality and rapport in inter-group interaction is maintained and even the Kannada speakers have acquired control over Tamil. There is a clear indication to use the Tamil as far as is possible depending on the interactants involved in a speech act.

5.4. Patterns of Language Use Among Friends

The domains of communication with friends is an important aspects in the life of the individual. Patterns of language use in maintaining friendship indicates networks of interaction across language groups. It indicates the extent of linguistic acculturation of both the minority as well as the majority.

This section deals with 11(ii) of the questionnaire. Subjects were required to return the language(s) they use with their friends. By investigating into the actual use of language with friends it is possible to infer

(i) the extent to which mother tongue is used in interaction networks outside the home, and

(ii) the extent to which Tamil speakers participate in interaction networks where other languages need to be used.

Analysis of language use with friends is meant to validate the following hypotheses.

(i) Use of Tamil with friends indicates strong allegiance to mother tongue.

(ii) Use of Tamil with friends indicates acceptance of Tamil by non-Tamil speakers.

(iii) Use of Kannada with friends, indicates adjustment on the part of the Tamil speakers.

The analysis of data indicates that, first of all, groupwise, priorities or rather preferences for use of language with friends differ. The Iyengars return Kannada, English, Tamil in that order. The Mudaliars and Christians return Tamil, English and Kannada in that order.

The result shows that patterns of language use with friends is one more domain which clearly indicates the propensity of shift among the Iyengars as Tamil is displaced by Kannada.

Analysis based on social variables indicates that age, education and length of stay in Bangalore are significant factors.

Age as a variable indicates that in the case of the Iyengars use of Tamil by the A_1 group is conspicuously low, whereas age is not a significant factor in so far as Kannada and English are concerned. The recent migrants return use of Tamil whereas its use lessons as length of residence increases.

In the case of the Mudaliars and Christians age is significant in the use of Tamil. Lower the age group greater the use of English and lesser the use of Tamil and older the age group lesser the use of English and greater the use of Tamil. In the case of Kannada, use of Kannada is affected by the language controversy, so much so that the use of Kannada by A_1 and A_4 is lower than A_2 and A_3. This shows that inhibitions in the use of Kannada still exist. It could be that due to the context of situation the necessity to use Kannada does not arise. It could also be that due to their rigid behaviour in the use of Tamil, use of Kannada is intentionally not reported. Field observations indicate that the friends they keep, make use of either Tamil or Kannada. These friends could be Kannada speakers, but in order to make the non-Kannada speakers feel at home, use of a language other than Kannada is resorted to.

In so far education as a category is concerned, the highly educated among the Iyengars report greater use of Tamil whereas the less educated seem to have given up hope in its use. Among the Mudaliars those who are less educated report being monolinguals in this domain, but as the educational level increases the role of Kannada and English increases. Among the Christians, Tamil and English dominate, whereas use of Kannada goes up at the high school level, but falls to the middle school level when the educational level is college.

In so far as length of stay in Bangalore is concerned, it is the general inference across the groups that longer the stay in Bangalore greater the use of Kannada.

The domain of communication with friends is an important aspect in the life of the individual. Patterns of language use and the use of language(s) in maintaining friendship is an important aspect of the total linguistic repertoire of the group. Language(s) used in communicating with friends indicates networks of interaction across language groups. It indicates the extent of linguistic acculturation of both the minority groups as well as the majority group. It is also possible to contend that language use in this domain inhibits intergroup interaction which could be considered as being indicators of group conflict. For example, in the case of the Christians who face a dual language controversy that affects their linguistic behaviour at two levels, language for general purposes and language of the Church, consider Kannada being imposed on them. This has affected the younger generation who, it is observed, have intentionally returned reduced use of the Kannada language.

5.5. Language Use in Office/Workspot/School

This section deals with items iii and iv in the questionnaire. The main idea behind these items is to infer language use in places, such as Office/Workspot/School/College. Not all subjects responded to the two sections. Their response was relating either to Office/Workspot or to School/College. There is a section of people such as housewives and the retired whose response was not elicited.

Those who work in offices and other workspots returned the language(s) used across the administrative hierarchy, i.e.,

(i) Superiors,
(ii) Colleagues/Fellow workers, and
(iii) Subordinates.

Those who attend schools and colleges either as students or teachers return the language(s) they use with

(i) Teachers/Superiors,
(ii) Classmates/Colleagues,
(iii) Students/Juniors, and
(iv) Office Staff.

The following hypotheses governed the investigation.

(i) Language use outside the home, in places such as workspot/school, will be mainly Kannada and English.
(ii) If Tamil is used, this indicates, strong allegiance to the mother tongue. It also indicates linguistic tolerance or adjustment on the part of non-Tamil speakers.

Analysis across the three groups indicates that use of language is dependent upon the level of hierarchy. Higher the level greater was the use of English and as the level decreased use of Kannada and Tamil increased. English still occupies the prime place at the written level.

However, the fact remains that Tamil is used in these domains also.

5.6. Media Utilization

This section deals with items 23, 24 and 25 in the questionnaire. The area of concern here is the language(s) subjects generally use in the following situations.

(i) Language(s) of Newspaper/Magazines, etc., the subjects read and the frequency of reading, whether frequently or occasionally

(ii) Language(s) of radio programmes listened to by subjects, the kind of programmes listened to such as news, music and other programmes.

(iii) Language(s) of cinemas seen by subjects, and the frequency of viewing cinemas in the chosen language(s), frequently, occasionally, or never.

The following hypotheses governed the investigation.

(i) Language of the print media will be English, Kannada and Tamil, in that order.

(ii) Language of radio news will be English/Kannada/Tamil.

(iii) Language of music will be Tamil/Kannada/English.

(iv) Language of movies will be Hindi/Tamil/Kannada/English.

The radio and cinema are sources through which comprehension of the language is acquired or maintained. The print media are sources through which persons literacy skills are maintained. Investigation into this area of language use is another aspect which will indicate processes of language maintenance/shift.

Language use in the print media by the three groups varies from group to group. Among the Iyengars it is English, Kannada and Tamil in that order. A mere 14% of Iyengars return reading in Tamil. Among the Mudaliars it is English, Tamil and Kannada in that order. A mere 12% return reading in Kannada. Among the Christians it is English and Tamil use of Kannada is insignificant.

Language use through the radio is divided into news, music and other programmes.

Community		News			
		English	Kannada	Tamil	Hindi
Iyengars	...	66.25	52.50	31.25	25.00
Mudaliars	...	75.00	30.35	57.36	20.58
Christians	...	77.08	40.27	70.83	32.63

Community		Music			
		Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi
Iyengars	...	55.00	61.25	46.25	51.25
Mudaliars	...	75.00	54.41	44.12	36.77
Christians	...	79.86	53.47	70.83	47.22

The above table clearly indicates that the Iyengars use English and Kannada and the Mudaliars and Christians use English and Tamil.

Community		Cinema			
		Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi
Iyengars	...	37.50	41.75	48.75	45.00
Mudaliars	...	88.24	55.88	70.59	50.00
Christians	...	74.30	34.02	58.33	39.58

The above table shows language used in the cinema. Once again, the Iyengars use English Kannada and Tamil in that order and the Mudaliars and Christians use Tamil, English and Kannada in that order.

From the above analysis, a clear picture emerges that the Iyengars for all practical purposes have shifted to Kannada. The shift however is not total, as a significant per cent use Tamil. Field observations as well as analysis based of length of stay in Bangalore indicate that retention and use of Tamil is due to the constant flow of migrants to Bangalore. But the Mudaliars and Christians retain Tamil. They also use English and Kannada in that order.

5.7. Language Use in Its Total Perspective

In bringing the present study to a conclusion it is useful to look at language use of the group as a whole. Use of language has been elicited in several domains and situations. As has been discussed, languages are returned as being used in several domains, and the language selected in each domain is also dependent on the language ability of the interactants who are involved in a specific speech act. It is expected that analysis of language use in its total perspective of the group under study will sharpen conclusions generally reached.

In the present study total language score has been obtained by adding the individual item scores in every domain for each language separately. The total score gives a picture of the overall use of language. The 'mean value' and 'standard deviation' has been examined. The 'mean value' indicates the extent to which a particular language is used. And 'standard deviation' indicates the variability heterogeneity among the individuals in their use of language.

Analysis of the following tables clearly shows that the Iyengars indicate processes of shift in use of language. The Christians and Mudaliars indicate language maintenance.

The following table indicates the order of languages used across age groups, as extracted from the total language scores: its mean value and standard deviation.

Age		Community		
		Iyengars	Mudaliars	Christians
A_1	...	K.E.T.H.	E.T.K.H.	T.E.K.H.
A_2	...	E.K.T.H.	T.E.K.H.	T.E.K.H.
A_3	...	K.T.E.H.	T.K.E.H.	T.E.K.H.
A_4	...	K.T.E.H.	T.K.E.H.	T.E.K.H.

K = Kannada; T = Tamil; E = English; H = Hindi.

The above table reveals the issues that have emerged all through the analysis. It appears to be explicit that Kannada has replaced Tamil among the Iyengars, suggestive in essence, of processes of language shift. Easy as it seems, the compulsive actions behind this is complex.

For the Mudaliars, Tamil scores are the highest from A_4 to A_2. Kannada is second for A_3 and A_4 but is displaced by English at the A_2 level. English displaces Tamil at the A_1 level.

The most consistent language behaviour is that of the Christians. Their convictions about language use are consistent across all the age groups. It is Tamil and English all the way through, including Kannada and Hindi.

As is indicative from the following tables there is a high degree of inter-changeability of use of Kannada, English and Tamil among the Iyengars. Their average 'mean value' being 21.24, 18.77 and 18.46. Whereas the inter-changeability of language use among the Christians and Mudaliars is more with Tamil and English, the average 'mean value' being 30.22, 20.91; and 27.92; 15.97 respectively. But still the difference in 'mean value' between Tamil and English is very high when compared to the three languages used by the Iyengars. The average 'mean value' for Kannada is 8.89 and 10.21 respectively.

For this one could offer the following explanations:

1) These two groups stretch the use of Tamil in as many domains as is possible, resorting to the use of Kannada in demanding domains and situations.
2) The consequences of the Gokak Movement is severely affecting the use of Kannada.

In general the Iyengars indicate processes of language shift. The Mudaliars and Christians indicate language maintenance.

Tamil

Table indicates the total language score in relation to age, Tamil is the constant, among the three groups.

	Iyengars		Mudaliars		Christians	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
A_1	10.94	5.80	21.38	6.35	31.19	9.77
A_2	20.23	8.31	26.42	5.14	32.45	10.92
A_3	22.88	7.73	30.56	9.17	30.25	9.31
A_4	19.82	7.34	33.33	4.76	27.00	4.47
Average	18.46		27.92		30.22	

Kannada

Table indicates the total language score in relation to age, Kannada is the constant, among the three groups.

	Iyengars		Mudaliars		Christians	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
A_1	18.94	7.52	8.29	6.33	6.23	6.66
A_2	18.27	10.50	14.00	5.19	10.93	8.07
A_3	26.04	8.60	12.13	7.41	8.08	5.83
A_4	21.71	7.33	6.44	6.15	10.33	9.50
Average	21.24		10.21		8.89	

English

Table indicates the total language score in relation to age, English is the constant, among the three groups.

	Iyengars		Mudaliars		Christians	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
A_1	18.53	7.65	24.00	6.00	25.19	7.42
A_2	21.82	8.64	19.87	8.48	22.90	8.48
A_3	21.58	8.77	13.56	10.18	21.56	11.09
A_4	13.18	11.61	6.44	9.36	14.00	9.93
Average	18.77		15.97		20.91	

Hindi

Table indicates the total language score in relation to age, Hindi is the constant, among the three groups.

	Iyengars		Mudaliars		Christians	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
A_1	2.53	2.35	2.42	2.76	2.69	3.94
A_2	4.00	7.04	4.21	4.98	2.45	3.32
A_3	4.96	4.94	3.38	4.83	2.04	2.60
A_4	1.41	1.75	1.56	2.06	3.00	2.49
Average	3.22		2.89		2.54	

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6. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.1. Introduction

Man as a social being is governed by societal behaviour. Social behaviour of the individual has been explained in terms of motivational, emotional, perceptual and learning processes, simultaneously operating to define attitudes. Attitudes, according to Fishbein (1967) are defined as "learned predispositions to respond to an object or class of objects in a favourable or unfavourable way". Attitudes is not just a social instinct or reaction to beliefs, but is rooted in experience. Attitudes are measured to reflect "perceptual, motivational and emotional processes, which are in the direction and guidance of behaviour. They are measured only indirectly on the basis of influences drawn from the individual's behaviour and immediate experience". Thus attitudes involves cognitive, evaluative and conative elements.

In a country like India with grassroot multilingualism even the smallest city or village is one that uses or is exposed to several languages and dialects. Broadly speaking languages reflect differing norms of social and cultural behaviour. Therefore to understand the nuances of such complex behaviour of any single language group it is essential to study language and correlate the structure and use of language with its social and cultural aspects. The study of language attitudes forms an integral component in explaining sociolinguistic behaviour.

In a multilingual, multicultural situation such as found in India, two important facts have to be kept in view.

(i) The Co-existence of Languages:

This can be defined as

(a) dominant Vs. subordinate,
(b) majority Vs. minority, and
(c) standard Vs. non-standard.

(ii) The Complimentary Use of Languages:

Traditionally, India is a segmented society. Further, the Indian society is a complex system, hierarchically statified in terms of socio-economic status, with ethnicity, language and religion playing prominent roles. The operative norms of communication in a multilingual country like India involve the use of a number of languages/dialects in different specified domains. Thus language assumes functional roles in diverse domains without creating communicational barriers across social groups.

Bangalore provides an interesting area to study attitudes to language, that is, how issues relating to language as a social fact reflect social behaviour. In other words, in a multilingual setting, how do speakers of a minority language view the state language, Kannada and also English and Hindi which are national official languages. Would they want their children to study Tamil at the formal level? Do they consider Tamil language as an essential token of Tamil identity? Would they appoint/recommend Tamil speakers in various jobs thus maintaining the homogeneity of the Tamil group? How far do their attitudes indicate their integration into the Kannada speaking world? Do they perceive women preservers of socio-cultural tradition or agents of change?

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The Tamils in Bangalore can be characterised as "minorities by will" (Year Book on Human Rights for 1950, p.490). They are, it is hypothesised, 'anxious to maintain their distinctive identities ... and express attitudes which are inimical to assimilation with the majroity group". They live in an area of stable multilingualism and sustained language contact in multilingual metropolitan situation often brings about degrees of acculturation, but it does not lead to assimilation.

Weinreich (1958) is of the opinion that "It is in the situation of language contact that people most easily become aware of their language as against others". It is thus intended, in the present study, to check whether the above statements are supported by the analysis of attitudes towards the mother tongue and other languages.

The study of attitudes to language among the Tamils in Bangalore can be classified under the following topics:

1) Language and identity.
2) The role of women in the retention of Tamil.
3) Language of wider communication.
4) Process of acculturation/assimilation.
5) The status of Tamil in the educational system.
6) Language and job.

Analysis of the data is discussed in terms of five social variables, namely, age, education, migration, occupation and sex. The overall response will also be discussed.

6.2. Language and Identity

Fishman (1971) comments on why language acts as a salient dimension of a group's identity:

> "It becomes clearer why language is more likely than most symbols of ethnicity to become the symbol ethnicity. Language is the recorder of paternity, the expressor of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious as part of the freight, indeed as precious in and of itself".

In India where there are both patrilocal and matrilocal systems and cultural interpretation of languages through marriage and migration a common phenomenon, language is not only the recorder but also the expressor of paternity. Mahapatra (1981) discussing ethnicity, identity and language shows that in most cases ethnicity is the primary form of group identity and that language and ethnicity are co-extensive or one is a derivative of the other. In India, there are examples, of one ethnic group, i.e., the Gadabas, speaking two different languages. Gutob and Ollari affiliated to different language families. There are also examples of a single language being spoken by people of different ethnicities. It must however be clarified that while the over-arching values of Indian society is respect for diversity, different groups of people at different times have considered language, ethnicity or religion of primary importance thus creating a hierarchy of values.

In the context of the Tamils in Bangalore those issues that are relevant to language and identity are examined. For example, the attitudinal statements posed to the subjects are as follows:

1) Maintenance of Tamil language is necessary for Tamil identity and solidarity.
2) The Tamilian children should study through the Tamil medium.
3) Use of Tamil does not permit the Tamilians to interact with the local people.

4) Tamilian children should, on and off, stay in Tamil Nadu for reinforcement and enrichment of their culture.

Statement 1 infers attitudes to language as a token of identity. Having settled in Bangalore, do the Tamils consider language as an important token of identity? A corollary to this is to infer whether they want their children to study through the Tamil medium. It is possible that members of the community consider language as an important identity token, but will not endeavour to retain the literacy skills. It is possible that interaction in the neighbourhood networks instill in the behaviour of the Tamils in Bangalore a sense of isolation. And if so, is the use of Tamil responsible for such behaviour. Further, is it necessary for the Tamils settled in Bangalore to often stay in Tamil Nadu for reinforcement and enrichment of their language and culture?

The analysis indicates that while the three groups perceive, maintenance of the Tamil language as an important factor in the maintenance of Tamil identity, there is a kline in such perception across the three groups. The Iyengars's perception of such maintenance is significantly lower than the two other groups.

Analysis based on education indicates that in the case of the Iyengars, those who are less educated agree the least that Tamil is an important token of Tamil identity and solidarity. Belonging to the lowest SES group, these people are in need of greater integration in the interest of their livelihood and probably cannot accept the linguistic identity which creates friction with the other groups. Occupationwise the retired people, agewise, those above 60 years and length of residence in Bangalore indicates that Tamil language as an important identity token is receding. On the contrary, those below the age of 20 years perceive its importance. One could interpret it as the revival of language as an important token of identity, because their skills in Tamil is receding. In the case of the Mudaliars and Christians analysis based on social variables is irrelevant as they generally agree that language is an important factor in the maintenance of Tamil identity.

Analysis of the statement in regard to children studying through the Tamil medium, the Iyengars generally disagree. However, the highly educated from among those who agree with the statement perceive the need for children to study through the Tamil medium. The Mudaliars and Christians still perceive the necessity. Although the total sample among the Mudaliars are born in Bangalore, there is still a strong perception that children should study through the Tamil medium, in this regard education is a contributing factor. Among the Christians, the men, those below 20 years and the recent migrants agree with the statement.

Thus the response indicates that Tamil migrants come prepared to adjust with the host society and at the same time there is an underlying current which inhibits change.

Analysis of the statement that use of Tamil does not permit the Tamilians to interact with the local people, indicates subjects generally disagree. However, the response of the Mudaliars and the Christians can be characterised as "double think", some feel that use of Tamil does not allow the Tamilians to interact with the local people and some do not feel so.

Attitudes to "stay in Tamil Nadu is necessary for maintenance of Tamil identity", show subjects generally disagree. This indirectly suggests that the group can maintain its cultural distinctiveness without official patronage or external stimulation.

Taking the whole issue of language and identity across the three groups into consideration it can be concluded that language is an important identity token for all the three groups. But the degree of such importance varies, the Iyengars' receding and the other groups maintaining. However, correlating language use with language attitude, where analysis of language use, shows tendencies of language shift among the Iyengars, they still perceive language as an important identity token.

It has to be further realised that in urban multilingual centres contradictory social behaviour co-exist. That is, in one group it is clear that there is a tendency to shift but at the same time the recent migrants reinforce tendencies to retain, as is indicated in the case of the Iyengars in particular and the other groups in general.

Language and Identity

Statement	Community	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
1	Iyengars	56.25	28.75	15.00
	Mudaliars	92.65	5.88	1.47
	Christians	84.72	3.85	10.40
2	Iyengars	18.75	67.50	13.75
	Mudaliars	31.34	49.25	20.87
	Christians	27.77	51.38	20.83
3	Iyengars	10.00	77.50	12.50
	Mudaliars	37.31	53.73	10.13
	Christians	25.19	48.61	26.37
4	Iyengars	15.00	67.50	17.50
	Mudaliars	26.47	61.76	11.76
	Christians	7.63	65.96	25.88

6.3. Language and Women

Jesperson (1922) said "as a rule women are more conservative than men, and ... they do nothing more than keep to the traditional language which they have learnt from their parents and hand on to their children, while innovations are due to the innovations of men". It was found relevant to study attitudes relating to language and women among the Tamils in Bangalore.

The attitudes inferred relate to the role of women in the retention of the purity of Tamil. This section deals with items 20, 21 and 22 in the questionnaire dealing with attitudes. The three statements are:

1) There is a difference between the speech of men and women.
2) Women speak colloquial Tamil.
3) Women retain the purity of Tamil.

The networks of interaction are traditionally considered to be restricted among women and are found basically within the community. Hence they are less exposed to the ongoing changes in societal behaviour and their language is not influenced by other languages in the environment. Whereas the men, the main breadwinners, need to interact across the hierarchically stratified society, both social and economic. On the basis of this it was found relevant to enquire as to whether subjects perceive a difference in the language of men with that of the women.

If subjects perceive a difference it is possible that they will also perceive that the women speak colloquial Tamil. And/or that they retain the purity of Tamil. Hence, the main hypothesis is that women are less prone to be moulded by the processes of change and hence are responsible for the retention of the mother tongue.

Analysis of attitudes of the three groups to the role of women in the retention of language indicate that the Iyengars generally disagree with the statements, whereas the perceptions of the Mudaliars and Christians are ambivalent, which can be interpreted as follows.

The Iyengars use of language, especially Tamil is receding and hence the above perceptions. Whereas the Mudaliars and Christians retain the Tamil language and hence the above perception. The ambivalence can be explained as follows. Field observations indicate that there was a time when the role of the women was crucial. At the moment those women who are above the age of 40 years, and who have never worked are considered as agents in the retention of Tamil. Their place is the home and interaction is mainly restricted in differing domains and occasions within the community. But now with the advancement in the educational standards of the woman and its consequent achievements the role of the woman in the retention of language has decreased. The woman, nowadays is also a breadwinner, which has drastically changed the earlier relationship between woman and language. Analysis of language use in different domains also does not support the view that women are agents in the maintenance of Tamil.

6.4. Language of Wider Communication (LWC)

Bangalore can be described as a situation of stable societal bilingualism in general and multilingualism in particular. Subjects are exposed in face-to-face experience to many languages, Tamil at home, Kannada, Hindi and English in the School, among peer groups, and over the mass media, and of course in the market, while travelling etc., keeping in view such exposure, which provides opportunities for linguistic minorities to enrich their sensitivity to the language and culture of the majority group, it was found relevant to infer subjects perceptions of the languages they consider to be the languages of wider communication.

Perceptions of languages of wider communication reflect the elasticity of linguistic minorities to accommodate into the social structure which they have adopted. It also reflects the language(s) most acceptable for common use.

It was therefore decided to elicit the perceptions of subjects about languages of wider communication in Bangalore on the following four statements.

1) The LWC in the city is Hindi.
2) The LWC in the city is English.
3) The LWC in the city is Urdu.
4) The LWC in the city is Kannada.

These statements are meant to validate the following hypotheses.

1) The LWC in Bangalore is Kannada.
2) If it is Kannada, it indicates the felicity with which the linguistic minority has adjusted.
3) If its English, it will be among those who are educated and those who hold white collared jobs.

As is evident from the following tables, there is no sweeping consenses allotted to a single language as the LWC in Bangalore. Each group opportions unto itself perceptions of languages as LWC. And its just not perceptions that matter but language use also influences such perceptions. For example, language use among the Iyengars indicate processes of language shift. These processes are also reflected in perceptions of language as LWC. There is a wide gap between the Iyengars and that of Mudaliars and Christians in their perception of Kannada as LWC. 84% among the Iyengars agree that Kannada is the LWC whereas 67% and 44% respectively among the Mudaliars and Christians agree that Kannada is the LWC. This is one explanation of the situation.

The role and function of language as language of wider communication is dependent on social factors such as education, age, and length of stay in Bangalore. For example, English is LWC among the educated rich and affluent people. Hindi as LWC can be explained as being possible among those members of the sample who are engaged in business activity.

Those who are less educated, who are late immigrants with no contact whatsoever with Tamil Nadu perceive Kannada, more than English or Hindi as LWC. The younger generation tend to perceive Hindi and English besides Kannada as LWC. With differing functional needs, and social historical background different languages are perceived as LWC.

Language of Wider Communication

Iyengars

	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
11	16.25	70.00	13.75
12	52.50	33.75	13.75
13	2.50	80.00	17.50
14	83.75	7.50	8.75

Mudaliars

	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
11	64.18	29.85	5.96
12	11.94	77.61	10.45
13	1.49	85.07	13.44
14	67.16	16.42	16.42

Christians

	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
11	27.08	52.07	20.85
12	37.50	43.04	19.46
13	3.46	72.21	24.33
14	44.43	29.16	26.31

6.5. Processes of Acculturation or Assimilation

Assimilation or acculturation is not delineated on a map but is a phenomenon that is in the minds and behaviour of individuals who make up the linguistic minority. If it can be assumed that the human mind is heterogenous in character and that an individual 'double thinks' that is, the same individual holds contradictory, views of the same phenomenon, and applies these views to advantageous functional needs, in the same vein, this can be applied to a whole linguistic minority. At this juncture it is relevant to discuss 'social cognition'. Discussing the concept of social cognition Wegner and Vallacher (1977) define the concept as "how people think about people" which include "person perception, attribution, impression formation, cognitive balance, and self-concept" (in Roloff and Berger, 1982). Elaborating the issue, Duval and Wicklund (1972) argues that in any interaction, individuals "attentional focus is dichotomous", that is, the interaction is in a state of either objective self-awareness or subjective self-awareness (objective self-awareness is cognitive activity focussed on self and subjective self-awareness is cognitive activity is focussed on the environment). They further maintain that in any interaction the focus is either on one or the other at any given instant'. The relevance of this discussion is to draw potential determinants that act as stimalii in the environment which characterise and influence attitudinal behaviour. For example, the analysis of the groups attitude to assimilate, acculturate or maintain a distinct identity has to be perceived keeping in view the above discussion. Social behaviour is complex and hence creates differential attitudinal behaviour resulting in ambivalence such as surfaces in these three statements. As Newman (1973) puts it very succinctly, "the minority group members are always to some degree caught between their identities as members of the larger society and their identities as members of their particular group". The Tamils in Bangalore are in a similar situation. The linguistic minority is multi-dimensional in character and it is necessary that cooperation and conflict is juxtaposed in societal behaviour. There is a link that exists between the dominant language group and the linguistic minorities and among linguistic minorities in relation to differential power structures inherent in multilingual societies. Members of linguistic minorities are aware that they will continue to interact with the dominant language group, time and again, through their life, living in the same place, will alter their behaviour and lessen the liklihood of conflict their interaction will create. It is a kind of social information processing in anticipation interactional behaviour that orients the group to a future interactional commitment, which in a way suppresses otherwise natural reactions (Rcloff and Berger, 1982). Diversity in cultural aspects of group life and behaviour is a well known fact. For example, the celebration of festivals, differences in the wearing of jewellery, variations in performing puja, and rituals and nuances in decorating the house are found from group to group. In other words, the socio-cultural environment in which different socio-linguistic groups come in contact consistantly influence the socio-cultural behaviour of the groups. Extended periods of stay probably influence the linguistic minority to totally assimilate with the host society. It is also possible that the group will show processes of acculturation and at the same time retain their distinct identity. Keeping these in view it was decided to study assimilation, acculturation and identity orientations of Tamil speakers. The response was elicited on the following statements to study these orientations.

1) It would be good if the Tamils gave up their old ways of life and tried to take on the Bangalore Tamil ways just as quickly as possible.
2) It would be good if the Tamils simultaneously maintain their ways of life to some extent and adopt the Bangalore Tamil culture.
3) It would be good if the Tamils maintained their own identity language and culture without assimilating to the Bangalore Tamil identity, language and culture.

This was considered relevant to throw light on the following hypotheses.

1) Assimilation will not be indicated.
2) Processes of language shift will indicate processes of acculturation.
3) Processes of language retention will indicate processes of acculturation.

To put the problem in the right perspective, it was found useful and necessary to characterise the extent to which a minority group is inclined in the natural processes of change to assimilate socio-culturally in Bangalore. The relevance of examining such a phenomenon reveals the possibility of realigning the threads of tradition. For example, in statement one, it is assumed that it is possible that minority language speakers are capable of severing the thread of their mainland tradition and adapt their lives to the traditionally dominant forces prevalent in Bangalore.

Field observations indicate that for a section of the sample, there is no major distinction between "their own identity and culture" and Bangalore Tamil identity, language and culture". The subjects are totally aware, that Bangalore is now in Karnataka, but for various reasons of geography and demography coupled with other factors, in the perceptions of the Tamils, Bangalore is a Tamil speaking area. Moreover, Bangalore is still on the border of Tamil Nadu through a small places known as Hosur. It is like saying that in plural societies, each minority group brings with them their own separate structure and institutions of social behaviour. They maintain their separateness in a world of their own, a process of inclusion and exclusion operating as techniques of survival.

A quick glance at the statements shows that the three groups have responded in an identical fashion. However, all through the analysis, there is a difference between the Iyengars on the one hand and the Mudaliars and Christians on the other. The Iyengars indicate tendencies towards language shift, whereas the Mudaliars and Christians indicate language maintenance. At this juncture the significance of language and identity surfaces. It is important to raise the question: Does language shift necessarily entail shift in cultural values? It is also possible to assume that in multilingual societies, it is natural that linguistic minorities hardly ever totally assimilate the language and culture of the host society, and if ever there are tendencies to shift at the level of language which is peripheral to social behaviour, tendencies to totally shift culturally hardly ever happens. And this is what exactly surfaces in the analysis of the three groups. There is a tension between language maintenance and group identity. While there is ambivalence about language being one of the decisive factors of identity maintenance there is no doubt that all are unanimous about maintaining group identity. Gold (1981) provides a parallel. 'Time after time', a Jewish community has shifted from one language to another, but even though **language shift** is almost by definition an instance of acculturation it has not necessarily signalled weakened communal cohesiveness or deculturation. Despite losses from assimilation, exogamy and conversion, the cohesiveness of Jewish communities has generally remained high". In this study, in one group weakened language loyalty and in the other groups language loyalty does not necessarily affect communal cohesiveness. On the contrary, in cultural values and history of speakers, the cohesiveness maintained in the group surfaces all through the analysis.

	Community	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
23	Iyengars	45.00	42.50	12.50
	Mudaliars	46.15	35.38	18.47
	Christians	29.85	41.65	28.50
24	Iyengars	70.00	17.50	12.50
	Mudaliars	69.70	18.18	12.02
	Christians	59.01	13.88	27.11
25	Iyengars	20.00	68.75	11.25
	Mudaliars	30.71	55.38	13.85
	Christians	21.52	52.77	25.71

6.6. Language as Medium and as Subject

The momentum of present day thinking is on the viability of the mother tongue as medium of instruction and its importance in planning for education. The definition and description of 'mother tongue' has been a controversial issue widely discussed and debated. Pattanayak (1981) discusses the historical, political and sociolinguistic factors concerning mother tongue education. He draws attention to the importance of mother tongue, for cognitive development, thinking, social identity and literacy. However, he finds "great reluctance all over the world to use mother tongue as medium of instruction" and points out that "the mother tongues today are urgently in need of protective support". Srivastava (1985) says that mother tongue can

(i) Promote cognitive development,
(ii) Facilitate the process of further language learning,
(iii) Foster greater opportunities for success in the education process,
(iv) Lead to more positive self-concept, and
(v) Serve to bridge the gap between the home language and the school.

Srivastava and Ramaswamy (1984) emperically proved that Tamil medium students score higher in Tamil as first language. In multilingual situations, learning only the mother tongue is not a feasible proposition. Learning other languages is a necessity.

The plight of a linguistic minority group is that it ends up having to learn four languages, if one follows a three language formula in India. In the context of the Tamils settled in Bangalore it was found relevant to infer attitudes of these people to Tamil and Kannada as medium of instruction. It was also found relevant to infer comparative importance of Tamil with Kannada, English and Hindi. This has been done on the basis of responses to question 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9 of the questionnaire. It was considered necessary to explore the following hypotheses about the relationship of tendencies of language shift/maintenance with language attitudes.

1) Tendencies of language shift will indicate favourable attitudes to Kannada as medium or as subject.
2) Tendencies of language retention will indicate unfavourable attitudes to Kannada as medium or as subject.
3) The importance of English will be higher than Kannada and Hindi (4, 5, 6, 7).
4) Tendencies of language shift will indicate studying Tamil as unimportant.
5) Tendencies of language retention will indicate the importance of studying Tamil.

Analysis of attitudes to "The Tamilian children should study through the Kannada medium" very clearly correlates with inferences on language use. 43% of the Iyengars, 31% of the Mudaliars and 16% of the Christians agree with the statements. The Iyengars have indicated a tendency to shift, and so the ambiquity, whereas the other two groups have just begun to perceive the necessity that Tamilian children should study through the Kannada medium. The low response in agreeing with the statement can also be attributed to the language movements of Kannada Vs. the language of the minorities and Kannada as language of the Church Vs. the status of Tamil as language in the Church.

Attitudes to Tamil as medium indicates the reverse of Kannada as medium. The Iyengars perceive it as a low priority but a significant per cent among the other two groups still agree that Tamilian children should study through the Tamil medium.

A majority among the Iyengars consider the learning of Kannada as important as learning Tamil. This in itself is an important indicator that even among the Iyengars Tamil continues to be important.

A large majority among the other two groups give due importance to Kannada. This is an indication that in spite of retention of Tamil as a strong identity token importance of Kannada is not totally excluded from their linguistic repertoire. 55% of the three groups perceive Hindi to be as important as learning Tamil.

90% among the three groups perceive the learning of English as important as learning Tamil. The possible explanation for this is the wide scope the English language still has in the urban Indian situation.

Analysis of the comparative importance of Kannada, English and Hindi with Tamil clearly shows that English is rated first, Kannada second and Hindi third. 53% of the Mudaliars, 40% of the Iyengars and 33% among the Christians consider Hindi as important as Tamil. One could construe from the above percentage the strong inhibitions the Tamils, especially the Christians, still hold against the Hindi language. Though both the Mudaliars and Christians show the same tendencies about Tamil, the Mudaliars show more favourable attitudes towards Hindi than the Christians. This needs further explanation. The most striking perception is towards, "Tamilian children should study Tamil in schools and colleges". 43% of the Christians agree whereas only 28% of the Mudaliars and 10% of the Iyengars agree. What caps the whole scenario is the perceptions of the Christians. A high per cent among them perceive the importance that children should study Tamil in schools and colleges. Thirumalai (1983) discussing the role of Tamil literacy skills in Tamil for religious purposes among the Tamil Christians, points out the necessity of literacy skills in Tamil in so far as religion oriented activities are concerned. This is a probable explanation why the perceptions of the Christians towards the study of Tamil in schools and colleges is so high.

Iyengars

	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
2	42.50	43.75	13.75
3	18.75	67.50	13.75
4	86.25	3.75	10.00
5	55.00	28.75	16.25
6	91.25	3.75	5.00
7	40.00	45.00	15.00
9	10.00	77.50	12.50
Mudaliars			
2	30.88	50.00	19.12
3	31.34	49.25	19.31
4	58.82	32.35	8.83
5	55.88	25.00	19.12
6	89.55	4.48	5.97
7	52.94	29.41	17.65
9	27.94	54.41	17.65
Christians			
2	15.57	60.41	24.02
3	27.77	51.38	20.85
4	63.19	22.21	24.60
5	49.89	30.55	19.56
6	82.63	4.85	12.52
7	33.32	47.21	19.47
9	43.03	37.49	19.48

6.7. Language and Employment

More often than not, under Indian circumstances, caste and related identity tokens are important for social interaction and for creating bonds of social relationship. Keeping this point in view it was found relevant to study how far language affinity influences selection of persons for employment. The items 15, 16, 17 and 18 of the questionnaire given below deal with this issue:

1) If you have a job to offer/recommend, will it depend on the mother tongue of the speaker.
2) If you have a job to offer/recommend at your home, would you prefer a Tamil speaking person.
3) If you have a job to offer/recommend outside your home would your prefer Tamil speaking persons.
4) If you have a job to offer/recommend, would it depend on the merit of the individual.

It was considered that studying these will throw light on the following hypotheses:

1) Language and employment influence each other.
2) Language is important in employing household helpers.
3) Most often language is important in employing or recommending employment in places outside the home.
4) If language is an important criterion then merit will have a weak role to play.

Analysis clearly indicates that language is not an important factor in offering or recommending people for employment. Merit of the individual outweighs language affinity.

In employing household help the Mudaliars and Christians favour Tamil language speakers more than the Iyengars. There is general disagreement in language being important in offering or recommending people for employment outside the home. From among those who perceive language as important in offering or recommending people for employment outside the home, there is a significant per cent among the Christians and Mudaliars.

Analysis based on the social variables indicate that sex is an important variable in opinions to language being significant in recruiting household help. More often than not, it is the women who need to interact with these people, and it is obvious that mother tongue is given importance. (Women prefer to work with someone who controls their mother tongue, where expressions for utensils, ingredients, houselinen, furniture, etc. is best expressed in the mother tongue). Those who are recent immigrants, prefer Tamil speaking people. This attitude correlates with language use in the domain of the home, which shows that Tamil is the principal language of the home domain.

Language and Employment

Iyengars

	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
15	5.00	85.00	10.00
16	23.75	57.50	18.75
17	8.75	75.00	16.25
18	83.75	5.00	11.25

Mudaliars

	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
15	18.75	62.50	18.75
16	60.32	31.75	7.93
17	15.38	64.62	20.00
18	90.77	1.54	7.69

Christians

	Agree	Disagree	Non-response
15	12.49	61.80	25.71
16	43.75	33.33	22.92
17	23.60	52.77	23.63
18	76.38	5.55	18.07

Concluding Remarks

The analytical description of each of the sections aid in clarifying the nature of the sociolinguistic behaviour of the Tamils in Bangalore. Their desire to maintain the Tamil language and the Tamil oriented cultural patterns come out very explicitly. It also culminated in both exclusive and inclusive sociolinguistic patterns in contact with the dominant community. The variability irrespective of intra- and inter-group differences of the communities, Tamil emerges as an important identity token. The role of the mother tongue as medium and as subject is equally important. The planners for education of the minorities should keep this in mind for the effective planning of language use in education. In language maintenance acculturation/assimilation, and attitudes towards Tamil, language of wider communication and other language related behaviour depends on age, education, length of residence in Bangalore and socio-religious background of the communities. As Dua (1985) puts it "a sense of cooperation and understanding must be developed between the two communities (the majority of the minority groups) and a measure of differential treatment be evolved for the minorities for effective socio-economic equality and use and development of minority languages". It is hoped that this study will aid such a development.

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7. CONCLUSION

7.0. To respect the different is the underlying core value in Indian society. Social variation, and social conflict, conflict between symbolic values and institutional practices co-exist in a multilingual situation. Bangalore is no exception. Modes of perceptions of different groups are divergent, but coherence in the maintenance of language and culture is the single common goal that the Tamil minority in Bangalore cherishes, constantly adjusting itself to the changing social realities.

7.1. Factors Conducive to Language Maintenance : Differences and Similarities Between the Communities

Kloss (1966) identifies six factors whose presence is almost invariably favourable to language maintenance.

1) Religious - social isolation.
2) Time of immigration.
3) Whether language enclaves are involved.
4) Whether the immigrants belong to a religious sect that operates its own schools.
5) Prior experience in language maintenance before immigration.
6) Earlier use of language as an official language.

The points raised by Kloss, formulated in the dominant monological contexts, though generally relevant to the Tamil minority in Bangalore, needs modification in the context of multilingualism and pluriculturalism.

The Christians maintain religious and social isolation from the rest of other social and religious groups staying in Bangalore. The Tamil Christians share their faith with the Kannada Christians but share with Tamil groups, both Christians and non-Christian, certain social values attendant on them. The Mudaliars are non-Brahmins and the Iyengars are Brahmins. Though these two groups are Hindus, there are inherent differences in social and religious practices and hence in some sense are isolated from the others. But language acts as the unifying force. The dynamics of the multilingual society leads the three groups otherwise isolated to maintain their mother tongue.

Time of immigration is relevant as well as irrelevant. Though the Tamils are settled in Bangalore for over a century, the influx of new immigrants helps maintain the language by all generations. Bangalore once belonged to the Madras Presidency where Tamil was the dominant language. It is probably due to this factor that Tamil is so strongly maintained by the Mudaliars and Christians. This is a situation of transfer of area. Moreover, these two groups live in a language enclave, in and around the Cantonment area where Tamil is the dominant language. Being Brahmins, the Iyengars are concentrated in non-Cantonment areas mainly in and around Malleswaram, in a dominant Kannada speaking area. And hence their Tamil is highly influenced by the Kannada language. If the Iyengars are considered as converts, as has been discussed in the introductory chapter, then their shift has to be seen in a different perspective. Though they indicate shift in language use, they seem to hold on to Tamil as a strong identity token.

Thus it will be seen that although living in enclaves is an important factor, language contact or lack of it is equally important. With Bangalore assuming importance as an important military, industrial and educational centre, there is an ongoing flow of Tamil immigrants to Bangalore. Another contributing factor to language and cultural maintenance is that Bangalore is in a border area with Tamil Nadu through a small place known as Hosur.

The Church and the Tamil Sangam run social and educational institutions in Bangalore which not only help maintain religious and social values but also sustain social security.

In so far as the Iyengars are concerned, spoken Tamil is the principal language of the home. They are different from the Christians and Mudaliars because the frequency in use of Kannada and English is greater than these two groups and their reading and writing skills in Tamil is less than 50%.

7.2. Social Variables Responsible for the Shift or Maintenance of Language

Among the Iyengars, age, education and migration are significant variables responsible for the processes of loss of the reading and writing skills in Tamil. Those who show loss in the skills in Tamil, their skills in Kannada increase.

The age group below 20 years among the Iyengars shows a loss of use of Tamil, especially in the literacy skills. Two subjects in the sample have even shifted completely to Kannada, whereas this same group among the Mudaliars and Christians control high literacy skills in Tamil. However, there is an indication that lower the age greater the use of spoken Kannada. This means that upto 1956 Tamilians settled in Bangalore used Tamil only. The less educated among the Iyengars indicate a loss in the literacy skills in Tamil and show shift in acquiring higher literacy skills in Kannada, whereas the highly educated indicate maintenance in the literacy skills in Tamil. Among the Christians and Mudaliars a small per cent of the highly educated return the non-use of literacy skills in Tamil. In this case, English serves the purpose.

Tamil has a hoary past and at present is the official state language of Tamil Nadu. Thus both the earlier status of Tamil as well as its present status contribute to its maintenance among Tamils of Bangalore City.

In multilingual situations like urban Bangalore where language groups are not demarcated like border lines but interaction of each language group overlaps the interaction of other language groups, it is relevant to consider four more factors as advocated by Clyne (1981) that contribute to language maintenance.

1) The status and utility of the immigrant language in education and world wide communication.
2) Whether the language is a traditional subject for study at school.
3) Whether there is extensive association with grandparents who speak only the immigrant language.
4) Whether there are large numbers of standard language speakers as opposed to speakers of non-standard dialects.

Tamil is offered in the schools and colleges in Bangalore, both as medium and as subject, as medium it is generally offered upto class IV and as subject is offered upto the college level. The Church and the Tamil Sangam encourage the use and the learning of Tamil language and fine arts. Tamil is a dominant language in Church services, besides of course, English and Kannada.

The Christians and Mudaliars have maximally availed of such facilities offered. This has substantiated control over the literacy skills these two groups have over Tamil. The Iyengars do not opt to learn Tamil through the formal education system. This opting out has resulted in low reading and writing skills in Tamil. The film, radio and newspaper media also is widely available in Bangalore especially in the Cantonment area.

Subjects maintain extensive association with grandparents who only speak Tamil. Language use in the home domain clearly indicates that Tamil is mainly used with grandparents. The educated grandfathers also use English. There are some subjects among the Iyengars who also use Kannada. In case of the Christians and Mudaliars the use of Kannada with grandparents is nil.

Field observations indicate that there is a sizeable floating population of Tamil speakers from Tamil Nadu who speak and control the literacy skills in standard Tamil. This helps the settlers in Bangalore maintain a pure form of Tamil, so much so that the Tamil of Mudaliars and Christians does not show any sign of being influenced by the languages around them. They keep codes apart.

Man lives amidst an ongoing process of socialization wherein the family, peer group, school and place of work exert pressure on individual behaviour. Individuals who are members of a larger social group or community have to fall in line with group behaviour oriented towards a set of social values. The family is considered to be the primary unit of socialization of a community. "The family" as Dittmar (1976) observes, "can be regarded as a community of interaction which leads to definite role constellations. According to the social roles which its members adopt (e.g., the father as breadwinner, the mother as housewife, the child as the person being socialized), their communicative forms are based in regular modes, which result from the internal family constellation, originate from psychological characteristics of their members, and are shaped by the general social environment and its values (past and present)".

The family in the present study is the nucleus to the retention of Tamil. The Mudaliars and Christians are in Bangalore over several generations and yet their retention of the reading and writing skills in Tamil is considerably high. Although a large number have studied through the Tamil medium at the lower levels of education and have switched to the English medium at the higher levels, this shift in medium has not in any way deterred their use and control over the literacy skills in Tamil.

Those subjects among the Iyengars whose grandparents are born in Karnataka indicate greater loss in the literacy skills in Tamil and higher literacy skills in Kannada. Whereas those who have studied in Tamil Nadu and have recently settled in Bangalore indicate higher literacy skills in Tamil and lower literacy skills in Kannada. The total sample among the Mudaliars are born in Bangalore. So migration as a variable does not arise. However, their literacy skills in Tamil as well as in Kannada is high.

Among the Christians, longer stay in Bangalore lessens the literacy skills in Tamil. The length of residence in Bangalore enables them to acquire higher skills in Kannada. This, however, does not mean that the literacy skills in Tamil is low. It is as high as 75%. But in Kannada it is as low as 39%. The low value in Kannada however has to be perceived keeping in view the following reasons as an explanation. With the implementation of the Gokak Report which expects that the minorities in Karnataka ought to control the literacy skills in Kannada, a section of the minorities, spearheaded by their respective political and religious leaders, perceive this as an imposition of Kannada on the minorities. The Christians in Bangalore are further attacked and there is an ongoing agitation regarding the language of the Church, because in the Tamil dominant parishes, Tamil is the principal language of Church services. This, they perceive as a direct threat to their language and culture. The agitation has instilled in the minds and heart of the subjects a greater verve to identify themselves with the Tamil language.

It is appropriate, at this juncture, to refer to Anderson (1969) where he says that "compared to other types of social conflict, those concerning language are of a special order. They are painful and harsh in the most intimate sense". This is true for the Tamil Christians in Bangalore. The language controversy in the Church in Bangalore has touched them in the most intimate sense. As the analysis indicates the language of prayers is Tamil though English is also used. Field observations indicate that in order to ensure harmony in the House of God, a Parish Priest whose laity are generally Tamil speakers, resorted to have the "Mass Prayers" in Kannada rendered in the Tamil script to please a few Kannada families in the same Parish. This had been resorted to till such time an amicable solution is reached. The struggle still continues.

But Anderson goes on to add that "For a man of learning, language disturbance is far less serious than for one of little learning. It is the ordinary people who are most hurt if their language is threatened, and their reactions are likely to be extreme. For the peasant or the unskilled workers, language change is like turning back the clock and beginning the learning process anew". This view can be accepted in a limited sense only as far as the Tamils are concerned. Here is a situation where a whole population is affected. For in the present study the point of departure is that it is just not the unskilled and uneducated who are touched by the language controversy, but the whole population, irrespective of social categories, share the sentiment to stand by their language and culture. Anderson's position, thus perhaps reflects conditions elsewhere, but not in India. For the Christians in Bangalore it is possible to agree with Anderson's statement on the vital uses of a language which is, that "it enables people to live together with a measure of enjoyment, for it has a common meaning for all. It embraces a memory content which is shared by all, and the common uses of it helps to make a living tolerable". It is perhaps because the Tamils in Bangalore live in enclaves that such strong solidarity emerges. In a study conducted on Urdu speakers in Mysore, Dua (1980) shows that "The less educated common people seem to be more emotionally involved in language issues pertaining to identity, social status and employment than the highly educated professionals". Dua's finding falls in line with what Anderson has to say. Their inference, that the people in the lower levels of society care more for language related issues rather than the highly educated has to be reconsidered keeping in view the inference that emerges in the study.

7.3. Patterns of Language Use

Tamil is the principal language of the home for all the three groups. The Iyengars are different from the Christians and Mudaliars, because -

1) the structure of their (Iyengar's) Tamil is influenced by the structure of Kannada (Sam Mohan Lal, 1982),
2) the function of Kannada and English is more extensive, and
3) the literacy skills in Tamil are significantly lower.

The Tamil among the Christians and Mudaliars is not structurally influenced by Kannada. Besides Tamil, English is more extensively used. The role of Kannada in the home domain among these communities is negligible. The literacy skills in Tamil is significantly high, as high as 70%.

Patterns of language use outside the domain of the home indicates structural incorporation of languages due to functional and situational needs. As settlers in Bangalore, the Tamils need to accommodate, adjust and sort of augment coordination of their total linguistic behaviour. The Iyengars, once again, are different from the Mudaliars and Christians. They use Kannada more extensively than Tamil. The Mudaliars and Christians use Tamil more extensively than Kannada.

The role of English has to be viewed as a separate token of identity assertion. Its growing importance in modernization and industrialization and the added prestige it carries with it as a window to international communication enables the Tamils in Bangalore to acquire advantages that goes along with it on the road to wealth, status and power. Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools and colleges as well as a language of entertainment and language of wider communication, through the mass media has enabled it to assume greater importance and is being established as an important lingua franca.

7.4. Language Attitude

The attitudes of the group to language and language related issues indicate an important and significant difference among the Iyengars. All through the analysis they show differences from the Mudaliars and Christians. But on the subject of maintenance of Tamil language as an important token in the maintenance of Tamil identity and solidarity, they stand united with the other two groups. The three groups perceive the importance of maintaining Tamil language as an important token in the maintenance of Tamil identity and solidarity except for this perception, the Iyengar's perception of learning Tamil as language or as subject, and other related issues they once again fall apart from the two groups. They indicate tendencies of both assimilation and acculturation. The Mudaliars and Christians, on the other hand, indicate tendencies of maintaining their distinct identity by strengthening the threads of the Tamil tradition.

7.5. Limitation of the Study

(1) The limitations of the study are as follows:

(i) The study was confined to three groups only,

(ii) Self-reported perceptions and proficiencies in languages were studied,

(iii) Self-reported proficiencies in languages were not tested.

(2) Observations:

During the study of the three groups, the following observations were recorded:

(i) Issues relating to the study of minority groups is necessary.

(ii) Subjects are keen that research done on linguistic minorities should be applied to language planning.

(3) Implications:

The implication of the study is as follows: In the context of recent controversy of the status of Kannada vis-a-vis the language of the minorities, the study throws light on

(i) Acquisition and control of skills in the Kannada language by linguistic minorities is a matter of natural language behavioural process.

(ii) Linguistic minorities are aware of the importance of Kannada, but compulsory force to learn Kannada, heightens group separateness. For example, the younger generation among the Christians seem to have intentionally withheld knowledge of Kannada, because of the controversy going on in the Church, i.e., Kannada should be more prominantly used than Tamil.

(4) Suggestions for further research:

As a result of the findings of the present study topics for further research are suggested.

(i) An assessment of actual language proficiency in Tamil.

(ii) A large section of construction workers and labourers are Tamil speakers. A study on convergence or codeswitching of the language of these people will throw light on the language of migrants in urban centres.

(iii) Classroom interaction of Tamil mother tongue students in Tamil and Kannada medium schools in Bangalore. This kind of a study will prove to be of immense value to those associated with research on Bilingual Transfer Model.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX

A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Minorities : The Tamil Community in Bangalore City

TOOL 1 : QUESTIONNAIRE

Sl. No. ____________

Informant No. ________________

Date. ______________________

1. Name :
2. Male/Female :
3. Address :

4. Religion :
4b. If Christian, whether : 1) SC or non-SC
2) Protestant/Catholic
5. Community :
5b. Vegetarian/Non-vegetarian :
6. Age group (check one) :

20	20-35	35-60	60

7. Educational qualifications :

	No formal education		Elementary (I-IV Std.)	Secondary V-VII	Higher Secondary VIII-X	College
	Illiterate	Literate				
Self						
Father						
Mother						

8. Language at school :

School	Medium	Other language
a) Elementary (I-IV Std.)		
b) Secondary (V-VII)		
c) Higher Secondary (VIII-X)		
d) College		

9. Occupation : a) Self

b) Spouse

c) Father

d) Mother

10. Please mention the languages known to you in order of proficiency :

Language	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
a)				
b)				
c)				
d)				
e)				

11. Mention the language(s) used :

	Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi	Any other
(i) At home with –					
a) Grandfather – Oral					
a) Grandfather – Written					
b) Grandmother – Oral					
b) Grandmother – Written					

		Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi	Any other
c) Mother	Oral					
	Written					
d) Father	Oral					
	Written					
e) Spouse	Oral					
	Written					
f) Children	Oral					
	Written					
g) Sisters/ Brothers/ Cousins	Oral					
	Written					
h) In-laws	Oral					
	Written					
i) Servants	Oral					
	Written					

(ii) With friends -

		Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi	Any other
a) Male	Oral					
	Written					
b) Female	Oral					
	Written					

(iii) At office/workspot with -

	Oral	Written
a) Superiors		
b) Colleagues/Fellow workers		

Oral Written

c) Subordinates
d) Menials
e) Outsiders

(iv) At school/college with –

Oral Written

a) Teachers/Superiors
b) Classmates/Colleagues
c) Students/Juniors
d) Office staff
e) Menials
f) Others

(v) At the market – Tamil / Kannada / English / Hindi / Any other

(vi) At the hospital with –

a) The Doctor
b) The Nurse
c) The Compounder

(vii) a) When the priest talks to you
b) When you talk to the priest
c) When the priest performs worship
d) When you perform worship

(viii) While travelling with the –

a) Taxi driver
b) Auto driver
c) Bus driver
d) Bus conductor

---

12. Please mention your place of origin in Tamil Nadu. :

13. Mention the members of your family staying with you and their relationship. :

14. In case you are a housewife which language do you use when there is a need for you to speak to the teachers of your children and when you have to interact with people at various offices. : Teachers   Office

15. Have you any relations in Tamil Nadu? :

16. If yes, in which language you correspond with them? :

17. Are you a member of any literary/social/cultural association? If yes, which language is used in the meetings? :

18. Do you send your children to Kannada medium schools? If yes, give reasons.

    a) Better prospects in the State
    b) Better education
    c) Better scope for higher education
    d) Identity with the host culture group
    e) Any other

19. Do you send your children to Englihs/Hindi medium school? If yes, please give reasons.

    a) Job opportunity
    b) Prestige
    c) Tamil medium school not in the neighbourhood
    d) Kannada medium is difficult
    e) Better scope for further education
    f) Any other

20. Do you send your children to Tamil medium schools? If yes, please give reasons.

    a) Job opportunities
    b) Higher education of children in Tamil Nadu
    c) Identity with the culture group
    d) English medium is expensive

e) Better education

f) English/Hindi medium school is not in the neighbourhood

g) Any other

21. In an adult education programme would you prefer it through :

a) Kannada

b) Hindi

c) Tamil

d) Any other

22. Do you visit Tamil Nadu? : Frequently [ ] Occasionally [ ] Never [ ]
If yes, please mention

a) District ____________________
b) Place ______________________
c) Purpose :
(i) To look after property
(ii) To visit relatives
(iii) To visit friends
(iv) Business
(v) Selection of spouse
(vi) Any other

23. I read newspapers/magazines/books in :

	Frequently	Occasionally	Never
Tamil			
Kannada			
Hindi			
English			

24. I see movies in :

Tamil

Kannada

Hindi

English

Any other

25. I generally listen to radio programmes in :

	News	Music	Other programmes
Tamil			
Kannada			
Hindi			
English			
Any other			

26. How many years have :
   a) you lived in Karnataka/Bangalore?
   b) your parents lived in Karnataka/Bangalore?
   c) your grand parents lived in Bangalore/Karnataka?

27. Which other non-Tamil communities speak : to you in Tamil?

28. To which other non-Tamil communities : do you speak in Tamil?

29. If a person knows Tamil, please mention : the language in which

	Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi	Any other
a) you would like to talk to him					
b) you would actually talk to him					
c) the language the person chooses					

30. Will talking in Tamil to a Tamil knowing : person depend upon his/her status. Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please indicate the language in which you would like to talk to the person, who according to you belong to the

	Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi	The language the person chooses	Any other
a) Upper class						
b) Middle class						
c) Lower class						

31. Will talking in Tamil to a Tamil knowing person depend on the topic/context? :

32. Do you insist/prefer on a Tamil speaking person to talk to you in Tamil only? :

33. Do you live in a rented house/allotted/ own house? :

34. Any marriage outside the community : Inter-caste [ ] Inter-state [ ]

35. Where do you use the following languages?

	At home	Social gatherings	Market	Office	Any other
Tamil					
Kannada					
English					
Hindi					
Any other					

36. What is the address term for : mother's 1) sister 2) brother; father's 1) sister 2) brother

37. What is the reference term for : mother's 1) sister 2) brother; father's 1) sister 2) brother

Please indicate your personal opinion on a four point scale on the following statements using either **Agree, Disagree, Neutral, or Don't know.**

1. Maintenance of Tamil language is necessary for Tamil identity and solidarity. :
2. The Tamilian children should study through the Kannada medium. :
3. The Tamilian children should study through the Tamil medium. :
4. Learning Kannada is as important as learning Tamil. :
5. Learning Hindi is as important as learning Tamil. :
6. Learning English is as important as learning Tamil. :
7. Hindi is as important as English. :

8. Use of Tamil does not permit the Tamilians to interact with the local people. :
9. Tamilian children should study Tamil in schools and colleges. :
10. Tamilian children should, on and off, stay in Tamil Nadu for reinforcement and enrichment of their culture. :
11. The language of wider communication in the city is Hindi. :
12. The language of wider communication in the city is English. :
13. The language of wider communication in the city is Urdu. :
14. The language of wider communication in the city is Kannada. :
15. If you have a job to offer/recommend, will it depend on the mother tongue of the speaker. :
16. If you have a job to offer/recommend at your home would you prefer a Tamil speaking person. :
17. If you have a job to offer/recommend outside your home would you prefer a Tamil speaking person? :
18. If you have a job to offer/recommend, would it depend on the merit of the individual? :
19. Among any five closest friends :

a) are Tamil speaking
b) are Kannada speaking
c) are Hindi speaking
d) are English speaking
e) are other language

20. There is a difference between the speech of men and women. :
21. Women speak colloquial Tamil. :
22. Women retain the purity of Tamil. :
23. It would be good if Tamils gave up their old ways of life and tried to take on the Bangalore Tamil ways just as quickly as possible. :
24. It would be good if the Tamils simultaneously maintain their ways of life to some extent and adopt the Bangalore Tamil culture. :
25. It would be good if the Tamils maintained their own identity language and culture without assimilating the Bangalore Tamil identity, language and culture. :

APPENDIX

Language Use in the Home Domain : Iyengars

Role relationship		Tamil		Kannada		English		Hindi		Any other	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(i)											
a)	Oral	68.18	83.33	20.45	16.67	22.73	19.44	0.00	0.00	2.27	2.78
	Written	13.64	22.22	34.09	33.33	29.55	25.00	0.00	0.00	2.27	2.78
b)	Oral	70.45	83.33	15.91	16.67	6.82	8.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.56
	Written	6.82	25.00	36.36	30.56	13.64	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
c)	Oral	84.09	88.89	27.27	19.44	11.36	19.44	6.82	0.00	0.00	5.56
	Written	13.64	30.56	54.55	38.89	18.18	36.11	2.27	0.00	0.00	2.78
d)	Oral	79.55	88.89	25.00	19.44	29.55	33.33	9.09	2.78	4.55	5.56
	Written	11.36	27.78	45.45	38.89	38.64	50.00	4.55	2.78	4.55	5.56
e)	Oral	59.09	61.11	29.55	16.67	29.55	19.44	13.64	2.78	6.82	5.56
	Written	13.64	13.69	40.91	33.33	36.36	30.56	15.91	5.55	4.55	2.78
f)	Oral	52.27	58.59	54.09	22.22	38.64	22.22	11.36	5.55	2.27	0.00
	Written	11.36	11.11	27.27	27.78	31.82	25.00	13.64	5.55	0.00	0.00
g)	Oral	90.91	83.33	52.27	30.56	52.27	36.11	18.18	0.00	2.27	0.00
	Written	20.45	25.00	54.55	33.33	59.09	41.67	13.64	0.00	4.55	0.00
h)	Oral	61.36	61.11	38.64	22.22	38.64	8.35	4.55	0.00	0.00	2.78
	Written	18.18	16.67	43.18	27.78	34.09	19.40	4.55	0.00	0.00	2.78
i)	Oral	31.82	44.44	50.00	55.56	0.00	2.78	4.55	0.00	0.00	2.78
	Written	4.55	55.56	15.64	2.78	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
(ii)											
a)	Oral	65.91	58.33	77.27	47.22	70.45	64.19	34.09	8.33	6.88	5.56
	Written	13.64	11.11	54.55	22.22	59.09	41.67	13.64	0.00	0.00	5.58
b)	Oral	52.27	58.33	59.09	50.00	65.91	63.89	27.27	11.11	2.27	8.33
	Written	6.82	11.11	43.18	25.00	54.55	38.89	13.64	2.78	0.00	8.78

M = Male
F = Female

Language Use in the Home Domain : Mudaliars

Role relationship		Tamil		Kannada		English		Hindi		Any other	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
a) Oral	- (GT)	90.91	91.43	--	--	18.18	11.43	3.03	2.86	--	5.71
	(TS)	44.12	47.06	--	--	8.82	5.88	1.47	1.47	--	2.94
Written	- (GT)	60.61	71.43	--	--	27.27	22.86	5.03	--	--	2.86
	(TS)	29.41	36.36	--	--	13.24	11.76	1.47	--	--	1.47
b) Oral	- (GT)	100.00	87.86	--	2.86	9.09	5.71	3.03	--	--	2.86
	(TS)	48.53	42.65	--	1.47	4.41	2.94	1.47	--	--	1.47
Written	- (GT)	75.76	74.29	--	--	15.15	14.29	--	--	--	2.86
	(TS)	36.76	38.24	--	--	7.35	7.35	--	--	--	1.47
c) Oral	- (GT)	96.97	97.14	9.09	5.71	9.09	8.57	3.03	--	3.03	2.86
	(TS)	47.06	50.00	4.41	2.94	4.41	4.41	1.47	--	1.47	1.47
Written	- (GT)	75.76	80.00	9.09	--	18.18	22.86	3.03	--	--	2.86
	(TS)	36.76	41.18	4.41	--	8.82	11.76	1.47	--	--	1.47
d) Oral	- (GT)	96.97	94.29	18.18	17.14	45.45	25.71	3.03	5.71	--	2.86
	(TS)	47.06	48.53	8.82	8.82	22.06	13.24	1.47	2.94	--	1.47
Written	- (GT)	78.79	71.43	3.03	2.86	45.45	34.29	3.03	--	--	--
	(TS)	38.24	36.36	1.47	1.47	22.06	17.65	1.47	--	--	--
e) Oral	- (GT)	55.52	45.71	9.09	--	21.21	--	9.09	--	--	--
	(TS)	25.00	23.53	4.41	--	10.29	--	4.41	--	--	--
Written	- (GT)	45.45	40.00	6.06	--	21.21	5.71	6.06	--	--	--
	(TS)	22.06	20.59	2.94	--	10.29	2.94	2.94	--	--	--
f) Oral	- (GT)	45.45	48.57	6.06	2.86	12.12	5.71	3.03	--	--	--
	(TS)	23.06	25.00	2.94	1.47	5.88	2.94	1.47	--	--	--
Written	- (GT)	30.30	42.86	3.03	2.86	15.15	8.57	3.03	--	--	--
	(TS)	14.71	22.06	1.47	1.47	7.35	4.41	1.47	--	--	--
g) Oral	- (GT)	96.97	91.43	15.15	11.43	48.48	31.43	9.09	2.86	--	2.86
	(TS)	47.06	47.06	7.35	5.88	23.53	16.18	4.41	1.47	--	1.47
Written	- (GT)	81.82	68.57	9.09	11.43	51.52	48.51	6.06	--	--	--
	(TS)	39.71	35.29	4.41	5.88	25.00	25.00	2.94	--	--	--

Role relationship		Tamil		Kannada		English		Hindi		Any other	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
h) Oral	- (GT)	60.61	54.29	9.09	--	27.27	--	--	--	--	--
	(TS)	29.41	27.94	4.41	--	13.24	--	--	--	--	--
Written	- (GT)	51.52	45.71	3.03	--	24.24	2.86	--	--	--	--
	(TS)	25.00	23.53	1.47	--	11.76	1.47	--	--	--	--
i) Oral	- (GT)	66.67	74.29	15.15	20.00	--	2.86	--	2.86	--	5.71
	(TS)	32.35	38.24	7.35	10.29	--	1.47	--	1.47	--	2.14
Written	- (GT)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	(TS)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

(GT) = Group Total (TS) = Total Sample

Language Use with Friends : Mudaliars

	Tamil	Kannada	English	Hindi	Any other
Males = 33					
a) Oral	84.85	60.61	75.76	30.30	24.24
	(41.18)	(29.41)	(36.76)	(14.71)	(11.76)
Written	66.67	24.24	72.73	9.09	3.03
	(32.35)	(11.76)	(35.29)	(4.41)	(1.47)
b) Oral	75.76	36.36	72.73	15.15	9.09
	(36.36)	(17.65)	(35.29)	(7.35)	(4.41)
Written	51.52	9.09	54.55	9.09	--
	(21.79)	(4.41)	(26.47)	(4.41)	--
Females = 35					
a) Oral	68.67	22.86	34.29	8.57	8.57
	(35.29)	(11.76)	(17.65)	(4.41)	(4.41)
Written	45.71	2.86	31.43	2.86	--
	(25.53)	(1.47)	(16.18)	(1.47)	--
b) Oral	82.86	34.29	48.57	8.57	8.57
	(42.65	(17.65)	(25.00)	(4.41)	(4.41)
Written	48.57	11.43	54.29	2.86	--
	(25.00)	(5.88)	(27.94)	(1.47)	--

APPENDIX

Language Use in the Home Domain : Christians

		Tamil				Kannada				English			
		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(i)													
a)	Oral	52	70.27	52	74.28	2	2.70	0	0.0	12	16.21	11	15.71
	Written	44	59.45	44	62.85	0	0.00	0	0.0	11	14.86	15	21.42
b)	Oral	54	72.97	54	77.14	2	2.70	0	0.0	9	12.16	9	12.85
	Written	45	60.81	37	52.85	1	1.35	0	0.0	7	9.45	7	10.0
c)	Oral	70	94.59	65	92.85	3	4.05	3	9.14	11	14.86	12	17.14
	Written	57	77.02	42	60.00	0	0.00	1	1.42	11	14.86	12	17.14
d)	Oral	65	87.83	57	81.42	5	6.75	6	8.57	25	33.78	24	34.28
	Written	52	70.27	38	54.28	1	1.35	3	4.28	28	37.83	27	38.57
e)	Oral	32	43.24	38	54.28	9	12.16	5	7.14	17	22.97	22	31.42
	Written	25	33.78	28	40.00	3	4.05	2	2.85	15	20.27	20	28.57
f)	Oral	31	41.89	41	58.57	8	10.81	10	14.28	19	25.67	20	28.57
	Written	14	18.91	26	37.14	6	8.10	4	5.71	11	14.86	20	28.57
g)	Oral	69	93.24	62	88.57	11	14.86	6	8.57	38	51.35	33	47.14
	Written	53	71.62	42	60.00	9	12.16	4	5.71	35	47.29	27	38.57
h)	Oral	44	59.45	46	65.71	9	12.16	4	5.71	20	27.02	12	17.14
	Written	35	47.29	34	48.57	8	10.81	3	4.28	20	27.02	11	15.71
i)	Oral	41	55.40	54	77.14	10	13.51	11	15.71	4	5.40	4	5.71
	Written	23	31.08	3	4.28	2	2.70	1	1.42	1	1.35	0	0.00
(ii)													
	Oral	70	94.59	60	85.71	39	52.70	32	45.71	64	86.48	52	74.28
	Written	54	72.97	41	58.57	15	20.27	11	15.71	49	66.21	41	58.57

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